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FRANCISCAN STUDIES

A Quarterly
Review



MARCH
1944

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1944

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VOLUME 25

NEW SERIES, VOLUME 4

NUMBER 1

LETTER OF POPE PIUS XII ON ST. BERNARDINE

ST. BERNARDINE'S UNEDITED *Prediche Volgari*

Cuthbert Gumbinger, O. F. M. Cap.

THE *Enquêteurs* OF LOUIS IX

Alexander Wyse, O. F. M.

STAGING A TERTIARY

Joseph G. Walleser

SAINTS' LIVES ATTRIBUTED TO NICHOLAS BOZON

Mary R. Learned

LOCAL ATTITUDES TOWARD A CATHOLIC COLLEGE

Brendan Wolf, O. F. M.

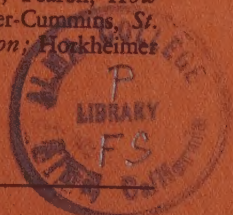
FRANCISCANA

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Koenig, ed., *Principles for Peace*; Sturzo, *The True Life*; Giordani, *The Social Message of Jesus*; Osbourn, *The Morality of Imperfections*; Brauer et al., *Thomistic Principles in a Catholic School*; Fearon, *How to Think*; Maritain, *Education at the Crossroads*; Hofer-Cummings, *St. John Capistran, Reformer*; Roemer, *St. Joseph in Appleton*; Horkheimer and Diffor, ed., *Educators' Guide to Free Films*.

BOOKS RECEIVED

NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS



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FRANCISCAN STUDIES

A Quarterly
Review



JUNE
1944

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NEW SERIES, VOLUME 4

NUMBER 2

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ARISTOTLE'S NATURAL THEOLOGY

Bertrand J. Campbell, O. F. M.

THE MEDIEVAL CRISIS OF LOGIC AND THE AUTHOR OF THE *Centiloquium*
ATTRIBUTED TO OCKHAM

Philothens Boehner, O. F. M.

SAINTS' LIVES ATTRIBUTED TO NICHOLAS BOZON, PART II

Mary R. Learned

FRANCISCANA

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FRANCISCAN STUDIES

A Quarterly
Review



SEPTEMBER
1944

VOLUME 25

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NUMBER 3

ST. BERNARDINE AND HIS TIMES

Raphael M. Huber, O. F. M. Conv.

NICHOLAS OF LYRA AND MICHELANGELO'S ANCESTORS OF CHRIST

Harry B. Gutman

THE WORKS OF ST. BERNARDINE

Marion A. Habig, O. F. M.

THE FRIENDSHIPS OF ST. BERNARDINE OF SIENA

Eric May, O. F. M. Cap.

THE FRANCISCANS OF THE MOTHER OF GOD PROVINCE IN SUMATRA

Achilles Meersman, O. F. M.

SAINTS' LIVES ATTRIBUTED TO NICHOLAS BOZON

Mary R. Learned

FRANCISCANA

BOOK REVIEWS

Nute, ed., *Documentis Relating to Northwest Missions*; Shircel, *The Uniquity of the Concept of Being in the Philosophy of John Duns Scotus*; Micka, *The Problem of Divine Anger in Arnobius and Lactantius*; McGarrigle, *My Father's Will*; Putz, *Apostles of the Front Lines*; Charbonneau, *Catholic Action*; Olschki, *Marco Polo's Precursors*; Mosquera, *De Praesentia Reali et Transsubstantiatione Eucharistica in Traditione Africana post Augustinum*; Beard, *A Basic History of the United States*.

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A Quarterly
Review



DECEMBER
1944

VOLUME 25

NEW SERIES, VOLUME 4

NUMBER 4

ST. BERNARDINE OF SIENA

REPORT OF THE
TWENTY-SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE FRANCISCAN EDUCATIONAL
CONFERENCE

BURLINGTON, WIS. — JUNE 26-28, 1944

Published by
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COURTESY OF THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

ST. BERNARDINE OF SIENA

This bronze statue of St. Bernardine, exhibited in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City (near the main entrance), is said to have come from the altar of the Immaculate Conception in the Church of San Francesco in Siena. The sculptures which decorated this altar are known to have been executed by Fulvio Signorini (1563-*post* 1609).

FRANCISCAN STUDIES

MARCH, 1944

VOLUME 25

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A Q U A R T E R L Y R E V I E W

FRANCISCAN STUDIES

MARCH, 1944

VOLUME 25

NEW SERIES, VOLUME 4

NUMBER 1

LETTER OF POPE PIUS XII ON ST. BERNARDINE*

LETTER OF POPE PIUS XII TO THEIR EXCELLENCIES THE
MOST REVEREND MARIUS TOCCABELLI, ARCHBISHOP OF
SIENA, CHARLES CONFALONIERI, ARCHBISHOP OF AQUILA,
FAUSTIN BALDINI, BISHOP OF MASSA MARITTIMA AND
POPULONIA: ON THE FIFTH CENTENARY OF THE DEATH OF
ST. BERNARDINE OF SIENA.

POPE PIUS XII

Venerable Brethren, Health and Apostolic Benediction!

Since the fifth century will soon have elapsed from the time Bernardine of Siena, a shining glory of the Franciscan family, after so many labors borne for the glory of God and the salvation of souls, "yielded his glorious soul with a happy countenance as one smiling,"¹ not only the members of his renowned order prepare to celebrate this event with private and public manifestations of

*The Latin original of this letter was published in *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, Ser. II, Vol. X, Num. 5, pp. 129-131. The issue is that of May 15, 1943, the first number published in Washington, D. C. The English translation is by Fr. Cuthbert Gumbinger, O. F. M. Cap.

1. *Acta Sanctorum*, V (Antwerp, 1685), p. 300, col. 1, litt. A.

Christian devotion, but also the people of Massa Marittima, where it is said he was born, and the citizens of Siena, which was as a second fatherland to him, and the city of Aquila, which religiously and zealously preserves and honors his sacred relics. This celebration indeed will not, We trust, take place without rich spiritual fruit. For if the life of this Saint, if his virtue and ardent zeal in the apostolate shine forth before the eyes of all by means of sacred sermons to the people during these celebrations, and of appropriate writings, it is certainly to be hoped that they who look upon this ray of heavenly light, being moved by that hidden power which emanates from holiness, will be deeply incited to imitate his salutary example. For "there is a great power in virtues; and to arouse them, if perchance they sleep,"² seems easier when we, by recollection and meditation, turn mind and soul to those who shine forth in the resplendent light of virtues. Our Saint is certainly in this company, for from childhood he seemed to lead an angelic rather than an earthly life; and putting aside all worldly things with which he was richly provided by parental inheritance, he devoted himself entirely to the service of God. Having freely and willingly embraced Franciscan poverty and humility of soul, it was his joy and concern to suppress, coerce, and tame the desires of the senses, to subjugate the body by voluntary penance, to raise the mind constantly to heavenly things, to convert the will to the deeds of evangelical perfection, by sparing no labors.

And thus strengthened and fortified by supernatural grace, a chosen herald of the divine word, he eagerly began to pass through the cities, towns, and villages of Italy, leading back all the erring to the right path and to the Catholic truth, and recalling to holy penance and to integrity of morals men plunged in the slough of vice, and finally through great efforts bringing to a serene peace and fraternal love not a few cities torn by strife and rivalry. In undertaking and carrying out these apostolic labors, he did not seek to create factions, which very easily divide souls, but he sought only to propagate the Catholic religion and evangelical truth and to arouse the love of God. This was his solemn guide and rule of life,

2. Cf. Cic. *Tusc.*, III, c. 17.

to adhere with the firmest conviction to the doctrine, precept, and exhortations of the Church, to choose or refuse nothing, to undertake nothing, without having implored God, and finally to seek in action nothing but the increase of His glory. For this reason there is little wonder that this apostolic laborer harvested such rich fruits; no wonder that multitudes of people, many even from far places, crowded around him, preaching either in the churches or often in the open, and with intent eyes, ears, and souls, listened to him speaking and exhorting. Especially when he preached the praises of the most sacred Name of Jesus Christ, by which all men must be saved,³ his angelic face was seen to be radiant with a certain heavenly light, and he invited and aroused all to love the Divine Lover eagerly and to conform their morals to His precepts.

May he return, Venerable Brethren, may this very holy preacher of truth and charity return in a certain way to his own; may he admonish them again by his sweet and gentle voice; and may he move them in a salutary way by his shining example. If men today would turn their minds to his frail figure — consumed, as it were, by voluntary penance, suffering, and work, living and resplendent nevertheless by faith and charity — they could not do so without being raised from earthly and perishable things to heavenly and never-ending blessings; and to these, as the better and the first to be sought after, the people would be strongly drawn. Even as of old, in the fifteenth century, this hero of evangelical holiness, by his persuasive voice recalled men from error to truth, from sin to penance, and from crime to virtue, so your forthcoming solemnity, by opportunely bringing to light his precepts and wonderful deeds, will bear the same salutary fruits. This will benefit and increase not only the religious good but also the civil welfare. For there is nothing that helps more to inaugurate and increase true prosperity, and to re-establish peace and tranquillity in right order than the Catholic religion, which is the norm and rule of thinking and acting for all. If the breath of the Christian spirit would permeate private and public morals, then it would be possible to arrange a more just and a more righteous order of things, and to hope for happier times, in

3. Cf. *Acta Apost.*, IV, 12.

which at last, souls being restored to peace and arms laid aside, all men would be joined in brotherly agreement, and with trust they would strive together through the earthly exile — with truth and justice as leaders, and charity as a mother — towards the heavenly fatherland.

May the Apostolic Blessing, the pledge of Our benevolence, be the harbinger of these very happy things, which blessing We lovingly impart to you, Venerable Brethren, and to the flock committed to each of you, as well as to each and every member of the Franciscan Order.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, on the twenty-fifth day of March, in the year 1943, the fifth of Our pontificate.

POPE PIUS XII.



ST. BERNARDINE'S UNEDITED *PREDICHE VOLGARI*

(Florence, 1424 and 1425; Siena, 1425; Padua, 1443)

THE fifth centenary of St. Bernardine affords an opportune occasion to study some of the unedited popular sermons of this great Sienese preacher. The work done on Bernardine's sermons in the past half century was mainly dependent on the monumental edition¹ of the Saint's course given in Siena in 1427 and published by Luciano Banchi (1880-1888). Since that time interest in the *princeps praedicatorum* has steadily mounted. Banchi's three volumes were a gold mine for many writers. While the Saint gave an excellent course in Siena in 1427, it is not just to limit our appreciation of him merely to that course. Yet most of what we find about St. Bernardine's work harks back to Banchi or gives random references to other sermons — a situation which leaves much to be desired from a critical viewpoint.

RECENT WORK ON THE SAINT'S UNEDITED SERMONS

The critical edition Banchi presented in the last century was excellent for the time, from both a literary and a historical viewpoint. His learned notes proved a signpost to later writers in seeking for further material. Banchi's choice of the Siena, 1427, course was felicitous because St. Bernardine at that time was fortunate in having an excellent and self-appointed stenographer in the person of the fuller, Benedict di Messer Bartolomeo, who took down the entire course word for word. During other courses of sermons there were trained stenographers who gave the gist of the preacher's thought even though not exactly as he spoke. The codices of these courses vary in their fidelity to Bernardine's words. The task, therefore, of editing these other courses is more difficult.

In the last three decades we have become indebted to various men who have undertaken truly heroic work in searching the codices

1. Luciano Banchi, *Le Prediche volgari di S. Bernardino da Siena, dette nella Piazza del Campo di Siena l'anno 1427*, 3 vols. (Siena, 1880-1888).

of Bernardine's unedited popular sermons. We cannot here do full justice to these men, nor do we pretend to name all of them. We think, however, that those whom we have selected for mention are so distinguished that no one will consider us unjust for failing to include other writers.

The first praise in the order of time goes to Fr. Salvatore Tosti, O. F. M. He it was who began to open the secrets of the unedited sermons left by the "Trumpet of Heaven." In a masterful paper² Fr. Tosti treated of certain codices containing popular sermons of St. Bernardine and also gave an appreciation of some sermons. His work was based on the Florentine codices of the Saint's sermons in Florence, 1424 and 1425, in Siena, 1425 and 1427, and in Padua, 1443. Fr. Tosti's painstaking labor gave a new impetus to the study of Bernardine's works, especially in the Franciscan order.

Bishop Vittorino Facchinetti, O. F. M., did St. Bernardine and the order a splendid service in producing a monumental work on the Saint.³ A huge quarto volume of 635 pages, the book is worthy of the highest praise. The author's prodigious literary activity especially in the fields of Franciscan history and art were crowned by three works on Saints Francis, Anthony, and Bernardine respectively. From the historical, literary, and artistic viewpoints each of these is a true encyclopedia. The work on St. Bernardine not only is a worthy companion to the other two, but its material is more surprising and new; moreover, it is the fruit of more mature labor. Here Bishop Facchinetti displays the full wealth of his immense culture. He worked at least seven years on this volume, searched libraries in all Italy and even in foreign lands to get at the original sources, and shows complete mastery of the Bernardine question and

2. Salvatore Tosti, "Di alcuni codici delle prediche di S. Bernardino da Siena con un saggio di quelle inedite," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 1919, Jan. — Aprilis, pp. 187-263. (For full bibliographical data see Bibliography at the end of this article.) Cf. also C. Hefele, *Der Hl. Bernardin von Siena und die Franziskanische Wanderpredigt in Italien Während des XV Jahrhunderts*, 1912.

3. Vittorino Facchinetti, *S. Bernardino da Siena, Mistico Sole del secolo XV*, 1933. Even from the artistic angle this work is monumental. It has fifteen full page illustrations and 325 other pictures of the Saint by 108 known artists and by 40 unknown. Father Facchinetti was appointed Titular Bishop of Nicio and Vicar Apostolic of Tripoli by Pope Pius XI, March 9, 1936. Pope Pius XII appointed him Administrator Apostolic of the Prefecture Apostolic of Misurata, June 26, 1939. Cf. *Annuario Pontificio*, Città del Vaticano, 1940, pp. 439, 593, 611.

bibliography. The book contains various excerpts of the Italian and Latin sermons of the Saint, and it is enriched with so much interesting information about him that it has been called a "Museum of St. Bernardine." There is no doubt that this work easily surpasses the works of other modern writers on the Saint. For long years Bishop Facchinetti's volume will be a refuge — as well as a challenge — for other laborers in this field. Its importance can be seen from the fact that almost every chapter is the nucleus for some future book. The fifth centenary of St. Bernardine should spur Franciscan writers to take Bishop Facchinetti as their guide in further research.

Fr. Ciro Cannarozzi, O. F. M., followed the inspiration of Banchi, Tosti, and Facchinetti when he published *St. Bernardine's sermons given in Florence in 1424*.⁴ This publication appeared in 1934, and is a good example of what can be done with all the Saint's courses. More work remains to be done in critical matters, but Fr. Cannarozzi did the spade work for this course and paved the way for deeper study.

As the fifth centenary of Siena's famous preacher approached, scholars girded themselves to honor him with worthy studies. The Franciscans and Italians have been especially conspicuous in this noble work. The organ of the entire endeavor is a quarterly *Bulletino di Studi Bernardiniani* published by L'Osservanza, Siena, since 1935. Because of the war, this magazine has not arrived in America; neither have any other studies on the Saint of recent date. No doubt we shall have some pleasant surprises in this regard with the return of peace.⁵

The Franciscan order owes Fr. Dionisio Pacetti, O. F. M., special gratitude for his recent magnificent labors in behalf of St. Bernardine. His work has a merit all its own. He is an indefatigable scholar of the first rank, and his zeal is matched by his temperateness. His genial love for the Saint urged him to search through

4. Ciro Cannarozzi, *S. Bernardino — Le Prediche Volgari (11 Quaresimale di Firenze nel 1424)*, 2 vols., 1934.

5. Facchinetti, "Bibliographia Bernardiniana" *Aevum* (Università Cattolica di Milano), IV, 1930, pp. 319-391. This is a complete and exact bibliography, a masterpiece of its kind. Cf. *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 1931, pp. 382-384; also *Collectanea Franciscana*, 1938, pp. 441-450.

many manuscripts and to set down the results of his findings in writing. He has a series of articles on Bernardine's autograph manuscripts found in the Vatican and Siena communal libraries. This series was published in the *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*,⁶ and fills 162 pages. There are ten illustrations of various manuscripts.

Fr. Pacetti also published some popular books on Bernardine's sermons with good introductions and notes.⁷ Three such volumes were known here as of 1940; perhaps he has published others since which have not reached America. These works popularize the sermons of the Saint and bring them to a wide public. In one volume, issued in 1935, Fr. Pacetti treats some of the Siena, 1427, sermons. This is the course which Banchi had published, but Fr. Pacetti's book is more handy and modern. To the surprise of everyone interested, the zealous compiler published another volume three months later: in June, 1935, he presented a popular extract of Bernardine's sermons, most of which had never been edited before. Material for the present paper (as well as for a former one⁸) is mostly from these popular works of Fr. Pacetti. We hope that in the meantime he has been able to publish an extract of the Padua, 1443, course of the Saint's sermons.

Two other authors deserve mention for their excellent works on St. Bernardine. Piero Misciatelli in his *Mistici Senesi*⁹ has a short but penetrating paper on the Saint, setting him in bold relief against his mystic compatriots of Siena. Misciatelli's other work is based mainly on Banchi's edition.¹⁰ Piero Bargellini has a popular and

6. Dionisio Pacetti, "I codici autografi di S. Bernardino da Siena della Vaticana e della Comunale di Siena," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 1934, pp. 224-258, 565-584; 1935, pp. 253-272, 500-516; 1936, pp. 215-241, 501-538. In these articles Fr. Pacetti considers three codices of the Vatican Library, five of the Comunale in Siena, and sixteen other Sienese codices corrected or annotated by the Saint. Cf. the index to these articles, *ibid.*, 1936, p. 538.

7. Pacetti, *S. Bernardino da Siena — Le Prediche Volgari: Campo di Siena, 1427*, 1935; *S. Bernardino da Siena — Le Prediche Volgari Inedite: Firenze, 1424, 1425 — Siena, 1425, 1935*; *S. Bernardino da Siena — Operette Volgari*, 1938.

8. Cuthbert Gumbinger, "St. Bernardine of Siena, The Popular Preacher," *FRANCISCAN STUDIES*, March, 1942, pp. 12-34. Tosti, *loc. cit.*, gives an example of the Padua, 1443, course, pp. 256-63.

9. Piero Misciatelli, *Mistici Senesi*, 1914, pp. 182-213, with 3 illustrations, 2 by Sano di Pietro and another by an unknown artist.

10. Misciatelli, *Le piu belle pagine di Bernardino da Siena*, 1924.

typically modern book on Bernardine which was read with great interest especially in central and northern Italy.¹¹

THE COURSE IN FLORENCE, 1424

This course was published recently by Fr. Ciro Cannarozzi,¹² and it is well to give it some consideration here because Fr. Cannarozzi's work is still new. This course of sermons was given at the Franciscan Church of Santa Croce in Florence from March 8 to May 3, 1424. As usual, St. Bernardine preached every morning and the last day both morning and evening. The codices contain 58 sermons of this series. This number agrees with the days as given above. But it seems that there were a few more sermons, because the first one implies that at least two others had preceded it. Some trained stenographer took down this course and it seems to be quite a faithful copy of what the Saint actually said. Fr. Cannarozzi worked on three codices in Florentine libraries to edit this work. The Riccardian Library in its codex 1264 (P. 11. 23) has all the 58 sermons. Some parts are wanting to the collection of this course as preserved in the Magliabechian codex in collection XXXV, 188 (11, 11, 392). The National Library of Florence has the last 33 sermons of this course in Folio 6, 1329 (taken from SS. Annunziata).¹³

Some few excerpts of this course were published before Fr. Cannarozzi's edition. Thus Fr. Tosti published the twenty-fifth,¹⁴ and Giorgina Puglioli edited the fortieth sermon regarding the power of the Name of Jesus.¹⁵

St. Bernardine had just preached with great fruit in Bologna when the citizens of Florence invited him to preach to them. This was his first course in Florence and the biographers record interesting details regarding the event. The Saint found the city filled with vices of every sort, and left it charged with a new life. On April 9 the Saint ordered a bonfire made of all playing cards, dice, ornaments, charms, and other means and symbols of vice. On this occa-

11. Piero Bargellini, *San Bernardino da Siena*, 1933.

12. Cf. note 4.

13. Pacetti, *S. Bernardino da Siena — Le Prediche Volgari Inedite*, pp. 24-25.

14. Tosti, *loc. cit.*, pp. 225-231.

15. Giorgina Puglioli, *S. Bernardino da Siena e la sua attività in Firenze negli anni 1424-1425, 1926*, pp. 103-123.

sion the preacher treated of persecuted love. So great was the commotion and lament of the people that Bernardine could not finish the sermon. There were several thousand citizens gathered in the Church and Piazza of Santa Croce that day. Their cries of repentance mounted as the preacher climaxed his sermon. Finally the Saint with the help of other friars burnt over 400 card tables, lewd pictures, and thousands of other articles used in gambling and other sins. Eyewitnesses say the fire burnt for a long time

to the grand confusion of the devil, the enemy of God, and to the glory, honor, praise, and reverence of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Highest God, Who liveth and ruleth for ever and ever, Amen. Yhesus. The cries that went up I cannot tell. They were like thunder, and the weeping through tenderness was a great devotion. Amen. Amen.¹⁶

On April 16, St. Bernardine preached on the power of the Name of Jesus. His ardent words created a profound impression on all present in the great Church. At the end of the sermon the Saint, filled with the love of the Holy Spirit and the love of Jesus, exposed, amid lighted candles, a tablet about an arm's length all around, and on it was painted the Name of Jesus on a blue field with rays of gold all around. All the people in the full church knelt down bareheaded, all crying and weeping with sweetness and tenderness for love of Jesus, and for great devotion adoring and reverencing Him. Beg Him therefore that He would give us His grace and glory in eternal life. Amen.¹⁷

On Good Friday, April 21, Bernardine treated of the Passion of Christ. The last part of this sermon is missing because the stenographer ran out of writing materials.

The titles of St. Bernardine's sermons during this course were as follows:

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. On confession | 8. On the illusioned and damned sinner |
| 2. On anxious confession | 9. On the malice of sin |
| 3. On defective confession | 10. On the end of the man who despairs |
| 4. On the danger of delaying confession | 11. On the illumination of the transfiguring spirit |
| 5. On the end of the world | 12. On paternal respect |
| 6. On the world's judgment | 13. On the judgment of wicked children |
| 7. On the intrigued artisan and merchant | |

16. Tosti, *loc. cit.*, p. 189.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 190.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 14. On sacrilege | 38. On the miracles of God and of those of the devil |
| 15. On bad habits and bad company | 39. On the devil vanquished |
| 16. On a cruel conscience | 40. On the power of the Name of Jesus |
| 17. On divine mercy | 41. On the Name of Jesus |
| 18. On the Incarnation [preached on March 25] | 42. On forgiving |
| 19. Who is obliged to restitution? | 43. On the Body of Christ |
| 20. When is one obliged to restitution? | 44. On the marvelous Body of Jesus Christ |
| 21. What must be restored? | 45. On the Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ |
| 22. To whom must one make restitution? | 46. On preparation for the reception of the Body of Christ |
| 23. The manner of restitution | 47. On the Resurrection |
| 24. On the marital obligation | 48. On the substantial glory of holy Paradise |
| 25. The chaste woman | 49. On the consubstantial glory of Paradise |
| 26. The sin of games of chance | 50. On the accidental glory of Paradise |
| 27. The harm of cursing | 51. On the glory of the kingdom of God |
| 28. On the sin of judging | 52. On the Virgin Mary |
| 29. On not becoming blind in sin | 53. On the words of the glorious Virgin |
| 30. On the vice of sodomites | 54. On keeping oneself firm in good works |
| 31. On Sodomy | 55. On the just and good |
| 32. On the damnation of sodomites | 56. On prayer |
| 33. On love chased and persecuted | 57. On the Cross |
| 34. On the intellect enlightened by faith | 58. On the essence of life ¹⁸ |
| 35. On the intellect blinded by infidelity | |
| 36. On the sacrament of holy Baptism | |
| 37. On the world despised (On the holy conversion of Mary Magdalene) | |

From this list we see how many and varied were the subjects whereon the Saint preached. We know too that he generally preached about an hour and thus we can understand the deep impression a series of his sermons made on his hearers. At the end of the Riccardian manuscript there is a note written after the Saint's canonization saying:

Jesus, Jesus, Jesus. On the twentieth day of May MCCCCXLV [*sic*] there died to the world the above-named and noble religious brother Bernardino da sSiena [*sic*] in the city of Aquila and he was buried with very great honor and reverence in the Church of the Friars Minor of that city, where his blessed body worked many miracles to the praise of God. Then

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 190-191.

on the XXI [*sic*] day of May MCCCCL, the day of Pentecost, at Rome in the time of Pope Nicholas the Fifth, together with his Lords Cardinal, brethren, and with all the consistory of the Holy Church, having seen and approved the life and miracles performed in life and at death and after death by the same brother Bernardino, he was canonized with great honor and placed in the catalogue of the saints. They say Saint Bernardino da Siena was born at Massa di Maremma [Marittima]. At Florence they held very great and fine processions all over Sunday morning the XXI day of June, 1450; and at Santa Croce they had a very grand feast, a beautiful service and a great offering. Amene.¹⁹

The following is an excerpt from the Florence course in 1424.

[Matrimony and the Chaste Woman]

You do not consider the very high sacrament of matrimony made by God in the earthly Paradise. . . . You make a stable of it!

There is a very great usefulness in matrimony, but there is also a crass ignorance among the people regarding the facts of matrimony. They say it is a shame to preach or give counsel about the acts and facts of marriage. One speaks of marriage considerably in confession lest it be said that the confessors teach how to sin; in preaching one almost says nothing for fear of the people's sins and also lest the preacher suffer harm.

And thus it happens that not hearing about marriage either in confession or in preaching, you have such an ignorance of it that you live like beasts and worse than beasts with your voluntary desires and real malice. You do not consider the very high sacrament of matrimony, made by God in the earthly Paradise and the first that He ever made: and you make a stable of it! And you believe that marriage consists [merely] in carnal union and that it consists in the faith given by the husband to the wife and by the wife to the husband.

Hence I am between two extremes. The one tells me: Speak as much as you can decently on an indecent subject. The other says: Do not do so because it is not customary and you will be bitten by a band of the wicked.

What will you do, brother Bernardino? If through fear of the bites of the wicked youth, or through shame, or for other reasons you are silent, you will be damned: you are bound to preach and you must reprehend the people for vices and sins and lead them back on the path of salvation. You have this weight on your back. Tell them and let speak who wills.

I will say it. And if I place myself in danger through evil tongues and detractors I do not care. Let him speak whoever wills. I know well that I do not preach for money, neither for any gain which I do not want; and I know well that if I gain nothing with the wicked I will at least gain with the good who will hear me willingly. And I hope with the grace of God that everyone who wishes to live well and according to Christian truth will esteem for good and always bear in mind and put into act my counsels

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 191-192.

(not mine but God's) and the words of the holy Doctors; and he will acquire eternal life. And thus he pleases God!

I understand the general rule of Ecclesiasticus (21, 18) that every preacher who preaches of the facts of marriage also sees who turns away his nose and his face; these are the ones who despise him and murmur about him. The good pay attention and hear well and they will say that they have derived more profit than I shall have said and even more than I have preached.

And that you do not think that I speak of myself, God says in the aforementioned place: "The luxurious man hath heard it and it shall displease him; and he will cast it behind his back."

[Description of the Chaste Woman]

There are two generations of chastity. The first is made up of children, girls and women who are always chaste. The others are they who although wishing to be chaste, at times fall either because forced, or through frailty, or because they are allured by ignorance or malice. You who are chaste, learn to persevere; and you who have fallen, learn to raise yourself; and the others should learn not to let themselves fall.

Hear the description of the chaste woman, such as St. John the Evangelist gives it to us in the Apocalypse (12, 1). To the letter he says that he saw a woman clothed with the sun, the moon under her feet and on her head a crown of twelve stars. There are three splendors in this description:

The first is of the virtuous state, which says "A woman clothed with the sun."

The second is of the dutiful state, which says "and the moon at her feet."

The third is of the graceful state, which says "a crown of twelve stars."

[The Three Solar Qualities: Splendor, Vigor, Warmth]

The first ray, I say, is of the virtuous state; where he says that the woman was clothed with the sun. The sun has three properties: the first that it shines, which signifies faith; the second that it is strong, which signifies hope; and the third that it is warm, which signifies charity. . . .

If you act this way, woman, you will be a great treasure to your husband. What is the greatest treasure? You will say, "Flowers, palaces, precious stones, power, cities, castles, etc." No! All these things are vanity. The greatest treasure there is, is a perfect and chaste woman. To have a wife who is graceful, wise, prudent, chaste, and good surpasses all other riches.

Listen to Ecclesiasticus in the twenty-sixth chapter. He says that as the sun is the most beautiful creation that we see in the heavens and the whole world, so a woman who is graceful, virtuous, chaste, and God-fearing is like the sun. As the sun gives life to all things so she gives life to her husband and all her family. And if her husband lacks faith, she will strengthen him and bring him back to the faith and to good habits and to honest words and honest deeds, ways, and acts. Thus, too, with her sons and daughters. She teaches and rules in the faith of God and in His honor, love, and fear; and also in the love and fear of their father and of herself.

She raises her children to be respectful, humble, trained, and graceful, and she keeps them in hope and love. Thus too she does towards all her family and servants. . . .

[The Dignity and Merit of Matrimony]

The wife is given and ordered by God for man. Whoever considers well the sacrament of holy matrimony and its dignity will honor it much more than he does now.

Hear first: Who made matrimony? The Lord God.

Hear its dignity: Where did He make it? In the most beautiful place in the world, in the delightful Paradise, the garden of God.

When did God make matrimony? In the time of innocence, when no other sacrament was made. This He did to show you how He esteems and protects matrimony as something innocent and precious.

And for what reason was matrimony instituted? To refill the thrones of Heaven to the confusion of the enemy of God, namely the devil, fallen from there through pride. God created man of the earth so that through his humility he would be able to refill these places.

He has very great merit who uses holy marriage well, especially to bring forth and fashion souls who will fill Heaven again, and to increase the glory of God. . . .

And because Jesus, coming into the world for our salvation, wished to confirm holy matrimony, He willed to be born of the married Virgin Mary, and to be protected by her husband given to her for companionship. Later, when the time of His preaching arrived, He willed to perform the first miracle at the marriage at Cana to strengthen matrimony. There He changed water into wine in the presence of His Mother and His disciples. By this He wished to show that the water of the carnal act performed in the aforementioned manner and intention, turns into the wine of sweetness and merit before God.²⁰

THE COURSE IN FLORENCE, 1425

Though some authors suppose that Bernardine's course in 1425 was preached in the Cathedral of Florence, Fr. Pacetti has adduced good evidence to show that it was given in Santa Croce, the same Franciscan church where the Saint had preached the year before. There is internal evidence in certain sermons that this was the case, and some of the best manuscripts of the time state that the course was preached in Santa Croce.²¹

This course was transcribed by some anonymous Florentine, and perhaps even by more than one because there is one codex containing

20. Pacetti, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-112, 115-117. This excerpt and the next two in this paper are freely translated from the Italian original.

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26.

a somewhat different version of the sermons.²² Fr. Tosti describes three codices of Florentine libraries containing these sermons.²³ Fr. Pacetti speaks of two other codices containing the same course.²⁴ A few excerpts from this series have been published.²⁵

Unfortunately none of these five codices contains the entire course. Each codex lacks certain parts of the sermons. One codex, that of the Osservanza, is especially described by Fr. Pacetti because of its unusual interest. Once this codex had 367 pages of which 236 contained the entire 1425 course given in Florence. At present the codex has only 207 pages and ends with the sermon on Easter Monday. Hence it lacks 17 sermons of the series. This manuscript was discovered in 1867 by Luciano Banchi in the Monastery of Saint Agnes in Montepulciano. The Franciscan editors of Quaracchi are engaged in the work of publishing a critical edition of it.

These sermons in the Osservanza Codex (No. 28) were composed by Bernardine but they were not delivered as written. Actually the codex presents the sermons copied from Bernardine's manuscript by another hand. It is unfortunate that this codex and the other two great ones of Florence containing this course are not complete. If they were, we could make an exact study of what the Saint prepared and what he actually preached on the spur of the moment. There is, however, plenty of material in these three codices for an interesting, if not complete, comparison of this kind. Generally the preacher was faithful to what he had prepared in the outline, even though the sentences are not the same. In one case he treated of God's judgment in three sermons in preparation, and actually preached five sermons on the subject. Fr. Pacetti compares the first eight sermons of the Osservanza codex with the first eight as delivered by Bernardine and preserved in the codex of the National Library in Florence. The Saint did not keep the order he had arranged in preparation. In the other sermons he was more faithful to his original plans. This course began on Septuagesima Sunday and

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 27-38.

23. Tosti, *loc. cit.*, pp. 194-198.

24. Pacetti, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-28. These other codices are Nos. 27 and 28 of the Osservanza collection in Siena.

25. *Ibid.*

was preached on every day in Lent and until the octave of Easter inclusively. There must have been at least 57 sermons in the course, though it is possible that the preacher gave two sermons on a few days.

The following are the titles of 40 sermons of this course as given by Fr. Tosti according to the codex of the National Library in Florence:

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. On the secret judgments of God | 15. On the virtue of charity; how St. Paul extols it gently and very well |
| 2. He who is not tried cannot acquire the virtue of patience | 16. How one should love the Name of Jesus |
| 3. He who loves earthly things more than God is in mortal sin | 17. How one should occupy his time in studying spiritual things |
| 4. How God gives good and bad things to the just and unjust | 18. On fasting; the first sermon |
| 5. How God governs the world in four ways | 19. On alms; some very nice things |
| 6. A fine and gentle declaration to know the Will of God in your work | 20. How you are obliged to love your neighbor as yourself |
| 7. That one must not do more penance than he can stand; and of the Nicholites | 21. How to use good companions |
| 8. Of the seven battles man wages in this life with the devil, the world, and the flesh | 22. On detraction and murmuring |
| 9. How the soul should act when in doubt and does not know what to do | 23. On the terrible judgment |
| 10. That one must ever have the Name of Jesus in one's heart, work, and words; and how one must flee the occasions of sin | 24. On anger; some very useful things |
| 11. How the devil robs and snatches the treasures of the soul if you do not watch for the dangers that can arise | 25. On the seven mortal [capital?] sins |
| 12. How one should not put faith in incantations and fortune-telling; and that he who does not do good when he can, cannot when he wishes | 26. On the Canaanite woman; some very beautiful things |
| 13. On heresy [?] | 27. On the bad habits of vices |
| 14. On prosperity and adversity shown in the trials of Job | 28. On good and bad widows |
| | 29. On swearing and perjury; some very fine things |
| | 30. On holy matrimony |
| | 31. On giving bad example to one's neighbor |
| | 32. On how the devil laughs at those who waste time and remain idle |
| | 33. On Dives and Lazarus |
| | 34. On Abraham's very holy obedience |
| | 35. On the prodigal son and the fatted calf |
| | 36. How Jesus cast out the deaf and dumb devil |

37. On confession

38. Who is bound to correct and admonish?

39. On hypocrisy

40. On declaring lies, as to whether they be mortal or venial²⁶

The following is an excerpt from the Florence course in 1425. It is taken from the sermon for Ash Wednesday — on the evils of ignorance.

Humiliabam in ieiunio animam meam, et oratio mea in sinu meo convertetur (Ps. 34, 13).

Dear Brethren, during this Lent we wish to stress that which is more contrary to the salvation of souls than all other things in the world. And that which is the cause of all evils in the world, the cause of all wars, of all pests, of all sicknesses, of all sins that men commit and of all the evils and harm that come upon souls and bodies.

And what is this thing? It is ignorance. *Quia omnis peccator ignorat*. All sinners are ignorant. Who was to blame that Adam sinned? Ignorance. Who caused the death of Christ? Ignorance. All the sins and evils that ever happened in the world all have come from ignorance.

And therefore we shall use all our strength to conquer this beast of ignorance; and every day we will give him a beating. Because we cannot give place to light, if we do not chase away ignorance. Then there will be light.

This is that beast of which the Apocalypse speaks in the eleventh chapter (verse 7): *Bestia quae ascendit de abyso faciet adversus illos bellum*. "The beast that comes up out of the abyss will wage war against them." And it is against all things perfect and virtuous.

Therefore all bad will, bad understanding, and bad working come from ignorance. Hence we shall treat of it. And because I have the reasons, I wish to give them. Ignorance is the cause of all evil beginnings, of all evil means, of all evil ends and goals. Therefore you do not know the good of which you stand in need. . . .

First, of all evil beginnings. Second, of all evil means. Third, of all evil goals.

Take the first: Of all evil beginnings. There are three evil beginnings, of which ignorance is the cause.

First, spiritual poverty.

Second, it begets hardness [of spirit].

Third, it begets beastliness.

Take the first, regarding poverty. And I speak of that which is harmful to the soul. Now see that ignorance begets poverty. Therefore Jeremias [it should be Isaias] 33, 6 — a mistake of the amanuensis] the prophet in the thirty-third chapter says: *Divitiae salutis sapientia et scientia*. "Riches of salvation, wisdom and knowledge." One of the greatest riches the soul has is wisdom. Wherefore it is said in Wisdom in the eleventh chapter [really 13, 1]: *Vanus est omnis populus in quo non est scientia Dei* [sic]. "All men

26. Tosti, *loc. cit.*, pp. 195-196.

are vain in whom there is not the knowledge of God" [Vulgate]. *Stultorum infinitus est numerus* (Eccl. 1, 15). "The number of fools is infinite." Having wisdom one will know what to do. And therefore Wisdom says in the eighth chapter: *Et si divitiae appetuntur in vita, quid sapientia locupletius?* (Wis. 8, 5). "And if riches be desired in life, what is richer than wisdom?" That which she must not do she will know, to detest evil.

Take the second, that ignorance begets insensibility that makes you sin by omission and by commission. For ignorance makes you take good for bad and bad for good. . . .

Now the third point: ignorance begets beastliness. To whom can a man be compared who does not know what he should do? He is like a beast. And therefore David the prophet says: *Nolite fieri sicut equus et mulus, quibus non est intellectus* (Ps. 31, 9). "Do not become like the horse and the mule who have no understanding." To the ignorant [Solomon says]: *Qui stultius viro habenti a Deo rationem, et non utitur ratione?* "Who is more foolish than the man having reason from God and does not use reason?" If the beast does not use reason, he hasn't it, and therefore he does not use it. But you who have reason from God and do not use it, you are more stupid than the beast. . . .

Consider the evil ends. Three are the ends to which wicked ignorance leads. Oh, it is a cruel beast! First, it separates from God. Second, it kills the soul. Third, it endangers the soul.

Take the first point: ignorance separates from God. Whence St. Paul says: *Alienati sunt a Deo pro ignorantia, quae erat in eis propter caecitatem cordis eorum* (Eph. 4, 18). [The Gentiles] "having their understanding clouded in darkness, estranged from the life of God through the ignorance that is in them, because of the blindness of their heart." Now the second point, that it kills the soul. Whence Solomon says speaking of wisdom: *Omnes qui oderunt me, diligunt mortem* (Prov. 8, 36). "All that hate me love death." And in Proverbs, in the eighth chapter [verse 35]: *Qui me invenerit, inveniet vitam*. "He who finds me, finds life." He speaks of wisdom. And Isaias says in the eleventh chapter [verse 9]: *Non nocebunt, et non occident in universo monte sancto meo, quia repleta est terra scientia Domini*. "They shall not hurt, nor shall they kill in all my holy mountain: for the earth is filled with the knowledge of the Lord." This is when the knowledge of God abounds in the land and God gives them arms so that they can defend themselves in wars and temptations. And therefore he says: *Non nocebunt, quia repleta est terra scientia Dei*. Nothing can hurt them because they have the knowledge of God. Hence Gregory says: *Doctor veritatis si auditur irati Dei furorem super iritantem plebem placat*. "If the teacher of truth is listened to, he placates the fury of the angered God over an annoying people." What do you believe angers God? The bad life of the people, to use violence, to live in luxury and similar crimes.

Consider the third point: to endanger the soul, for eternal damnation. He who lives badly will die badly. . . . Thus you see ignorance is the beginning of all evil, the means, and the end.²⁷

27. Pacetti, *op. cit.*, pp. 205-209, 211-213.

THE COURSE IN SIENA, 1425

When St. Bernardine had finished the Lenten course in Florence in 1425, Sienese ambassadors came to beg him to preach in their city that very year. The Saint set out for Siena at once and gave fifty sermons, beginning on April 20 and finishing on June 10. We have a Latin and an Italian version of this course, each independent of the other. Fr. Tosti gives an ample description of the Latin codex.²⁸ It is the Magliabechian Codex Cl. XXXIX, 60, in the National Library of Florence. The codex is of the fifteenth century and has 92 pages in two columns. On page 3 we read: "S. Bernardini de Senis sermones dicti in civitate Senarum anno 1425." Each sermon has a note telling when and where it was preached. These sermons were taken down in Italian while Bernardine preached in that language, and were later translated into Latin. The amanuensis was James Nannis de Griffulis who also wrote this entire codex, as he tells us at the end. Two folios are missing in this codex, thus mutilating three sermons. The writing is hard to read, and the Latin is not very good grammatically. The following is an example:

Insuper recordor memoriam habeatis nominis Yhesus et quod civis nostre civitatis in hoc sit recordatus, et quod unusquisque habeat qui uno modo et alii in alio: et etiam placeat vobis aufugere ab his incantationibus, et fugate istos incantatores a civitate vestra, et fugabuntur tunc quando recordabimini de nomine Yhesus.²⁹

On May 28, the Saint showed the tablet with the Name of Jesus on it after he had preached, and there was a great procession with much show of devotion and love for Christ. Preaching on June 6, Bernardine exhorted the people to place the monogram of the Holy Name over the façade of the city hall and not to put it merely into some corner.

From April 20 to April 25 the Saint preached in the garden of the Franciscan friary. From April 26 to May 2 he preached in the Piazza di S. Francesco. From May 3 till the end of the course he preached in the Piazza del Campo because the other piazza could not hold all who came to hear him. On May 26, however, perhaps

28. Tosti, *loc. cit.*, pp. 198-210.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 200.

because of inclement weather, he preached *in sala magna* [sic] *palatii Dominorum civitatis Senarum*.³⁰ That day he could not preach in the morning on account of rain. That night he could not finish his sermon because of a great downpour. On May 29 there was the usual "Bernardinian fire" in which cards, lewd pictures, charms, and all sorts of "vanities" were destroyed. On some of these days as many as 30,000 people listened to the sermons. The enthusiasm engendered by Bernardine was so great that the chronicler says the reader can hardly imagine anything like it. This is especially true of the several processions held during this course and well described by De Griffulis.³¹

The following are the titles of the sermons as given in the Latin codex:

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. On the tribulations of the just | 23. On the Mass |
| 2. On the conversion of a man from the bestial to the human state | 24. On the Our Father |
| 3. On the conversion of the soul | 25. On the state of our soul |
| 4. On charity | 26. On the Ascension |
| 5. On conscience | 27. On self love |
| 6. On conscience, the second [sermon] | 28. On confession |
| 7. On conscience, the third [sermon] | 29. On faith |
| 8. On the soul | 30. On the loss of the soul |
| 9. Honor thy father and mother | 31. On vanity |
| 10. Honor thy father and mother, the second [sermon] | 32. On sodomites |
| 11. On bad conversation | 33. On usurers |
| 12. On the Cross | 34. On religion |
| 13. On blasphemers | 35. On confession, the second [sermon] |
| 14. On the Virgin Mary | 36. On the Holy Spirit |
| 15. Against gamblers | 37. On the Name of Jesus |
| 16. On the punishment of sins | 38. On the meaning of the Name of Jesus |
| 17. On the angels | 39. On justice |
| 18. On [making] restitution and first who are bound to restore | 40. On fraternal charity |
| 19. What must be restored? | 41. On the holiness of the Church |
| 20. When must it be restored? | 42. On perjury |
| 21. To whom must it be restored? | 43. On peace |
| 22. On the manner of celebrating feasts | 44. For the Poor Souls |
| | 45. On the doctrine of students |
| | 46. On the Sacrament of Christ's Body |
| | 47. On how to communicate |

30. *Ibid.*, p. 203.

31. *Ibid.*, pp. 201-207.

48. On the Kingdom of Heaven

49. On the glory of the Virgin Mary

50. On the war of [for?] the heavenly Kingdom³²

Fr. Tosti has edited and published a hymn in honor of the Saint. This hymn is found at the end of the Latin Codex, and Fr. Tosti is of the opinion that it had never been published before.³³ The hymn is as follows:

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1. Gaude, civitas Senarum,
Que hunc virum tam preclarum
Quam sit in orbe terrarum
Produxisti ex gratia.</p> <p>2. Gaude, quia genuisti
Servitorem Yhesu Christi,
Bernardinum produxisti
Pro salute populi.</p> <p>3. Gaude, populus senensis,
Lauda Yhesum palmis tensis,
Et, virtutibus ostensis,
Cuncta fuges vitia.</p> <p>4. Gaude, quia decoraris
Tuo cive (et) inlustraris;
Gaude, quia nominaris
Per diversa climata.</p> <p>5. Iste frater tam preclarus,
Qui est noster civis carus,
Litterarum flos preclarus,
Yhesu psallit gloriam.</p> <p>6. Iste magnius predicator,
Veritatis renovator,
Vitiorum detestator,
Cuius fama pullulat;</p> <p>7. Per diversas partes mundi,
Yesu [<i>sic</i>] nomen tam iocundi
Predicando facit pingi
Summa Dei gloria.</p> <p>8. Exultet tota Italia:
Consideret mangnialia [<i>sic</i>],
Nam nunquam vidit talia
Usque ab initio.</p> | <p>9. Gaude, plebs divini cleri
Et Francisci plebs sinceri,
Quia cernis te teneri
In sublimi climine.</p> <p>10. Illud speculum virtutis,
Quod criminibus pollutis
Portus est alme salutis,
Celi viam docuit.</p> <p>11. Per te, frater, predicatur
Yhesus noster, exaltatur
Et maiore veneratur
Semper reverentia.</p> <p>12. Non cessemus admirari
Dum videmus Christum fari,
Quantum solet emanari
Dulce melos labiis.</p> <p>13. O facundia melita,
O dulcedo infinita
Sacris faucibus ingnita [<i>sic</i>].
O sermonis gravitas:</p> <p>14. Tibi datur peccatorum,
Duras mentes protervorum
Revocare, vitiorum
Detestando maculas.</p> <p>15. O quam mirum, quam devotus,
Quod tam cito sit commotus
Tantus vulgus tam remotus
O divinis cultibus.</p> <p>16. Quis pro tantis donis datis
Docta via veritatis
Et a malo revocatis
Laudes dare sufficit?</p> |
|--|--|

32. *Ibid.*, p. 208.

33. *Ibid.*, pp. 209-210.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>17. Si nos semper clamaremus
Dies, nottes [<i>sic</i>] oraremus,
Pro tot bonis non possemus
Yesu ferre gloriam.</p> <p>18. Quare sibi laudes multas,
Sicut suppetit facultas,
Verbis teneris unde exultas
Laudes redde Domino.</p> | <p>19. Que merces tot bonorum
Dignia [<i>sic</i>] detur receptorum,
Nunc instemus detractorum
Et livoris morsibus.</p> <p>20. Te salutis veritatem,
Te mirandam probitatem,
Te insigniem [<i>sic</i>] bonitatem,
Ne fallantur homines,</p> |
|---|--|
21. Rex conservet Angelorum
 Yhesus noster rex bonorum:
 Et in fine beatorum
 Donet sancta gaudia.
 Deo gratias. Amen, amen, amen.

At the end of the Latin codex there is this interesting notice and praise of Bernardine:

Predictus frater Bernardinus, predicatorum monarcha ac religiosorum omnium speculum vite et doctrine probatissime, postquam XL annis Christum evangelizavit per totam Ytaliā, post longos diuturnosque labores, post CCC monasteria religiosorum confecta, postquam decem milia religiosos traxit ad Dominum, postquam multos populos ab erroribus revocavit et ad Christum reduxit, post paces confectas, post seditiones et partialitates depositas, migravit ad Dominum in civitate Aquilana die XX maii 1444 in vigilia sacre Ascensionis ora XXIIa, ob cuius meritum multa signa consequuta [*sic*] sunt in honorem Dei, cui vivit. Et in civitate Senarum die XV iunii facte fuerunt solempnissime exequie et die sequenti devotissima processio.³⁴

The Italian version of this course is preserved in the Magliabechian Codex Cl. XXXV, 240, in the National Library of Florence. It is a fifteenth-century codex, written in two columns on 223 folios.³⁵

Another codex has the Italian version also. This is the codex 162 (Fondo Aldini) in the University Library of Pavia. The codex has 209 folios, written in full page in semi-gothic characters. It is well preserved, even though certain pages are hard to read. The rubrics and initials are in red and blue.

Both Italian codices contain only 47 sermons. In each case they lack the first three sermons as given by De Griffulis. The Magliabechian codex was written by Giovanni da Colonia in 1469. The

34. *Ibid.*, p. 210.

35. *Ibid.*

Pavian codex is earlier, but we do not know who wrote it. Each codex is independent of the other. Only one of these sermons has been published. Fr. Tosti gave the Latin and Italian versions (in two columns) of the sermon "On bad habits."³⁶ It is an excellent and fascinating example of how we can arrive more closely at Bernardine's actual words by comparing the two versions. This sermon was given May 2, 1425, in the Piazza di S. Francesco.

These sermons were taken down in summary and by no means in an exact fashion. Still they are interesting and contain many more anecdotes than the course in Florence in 1427. The Saint was more at home here among his own people, and he preached with greater vivacity and familiarity. The unanimous testimony of contemporaries proves the splendid success of this course in Siena. All that Bernardine condemned or ordered was incorporated under severe sanctions in fifteen laws of the city.³⁷

These laws show how sincere was the city's conversion and how much the people of Siena revered and honored Bernardine. The laws were passed on June 8, 1425, while the course was still in progress. There are sanctions against blasphemy, sodomy, card-playing, usury, excessive dowries, silk dresses; also against using too much material for dresses, and against men's hoods being too long. Proper measurements are given for these clothes! Doctors were commanded to exhort the sick to receive the Sacraments in time. Every citizen under 50 had to have some useful work. To execute these laws a new office was created, namely that of Captain or Executor of Justice. It was determined how he should be elected, what his functions would be, and how he should go about his duty. The same edict revoked all the former mild statutes regarding gamblers, usurers, sodomites, and other lax people. In his last sermon in Siena he told the rulers and citizens how pleased he was with the fruits of his work in this his own city.

36. *Ibid.*, pp. 241-253. M. Sticco published some excerpts of the sermon on study given in this course: "Una predica inedita di S. Bernardino da Siena 'Alli studenti che studiavano,'" *Vita e Pensiero* (Milano), 1921, pp. 354-366. Cf. Tosti, "De praedicatione S. Bernardini Senensis in patria civitate, anno 1425," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 1915, pp. 678-680.

37. Pacetti, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

The following is an excerpt from the Siena course in 1425. It is taken from the sermon on the Holy Eucharist, which was the forty-fifth.

Memoriam fecit mirabilium suorum, misericors et miserator Dominus: escam dedit timentibus se (Ps. 110, 4). These words are of the prophet David in a psalm. They mean: "He hath made a remembrance of His wonderful works, being a merciful and gracious Lord: He hath given food to them that fear Him."

Among all the things that God ever made in power, in majesty and in bounty, this work is more filled with charity than any that God has ever shown to human nature — for it is ours rather than the angels', because God could not give us a greater gift than He gave first to His disciples and then to us. What was this gift? I answer that being enamored of human nature, not being able to show greater generosity than this which is the greatest, He gave Himself to be eaten and drunk, and He transformed us into Himself. He could not show greater love for us than this. And He left this as a testament as long as the Church would last. This [Sacrament] is prefigured in many ways in the Old Testament. It was revealed to us in marvelous signs especially at the Last Supper where He gave His Body and Blood as a Sacrament to all the disciples. It was revealed to us in Abel through his sacrifice (Gen. 4, 2-4), signified there with very powerful signs. Likewise with Melchisedech (Gen. 14, 18-20). It was also demonstrated in the sacrifice of Abraham (Gen. 22, 1-13), for this Sacrament was prefigured in the beast and the birds. It was revealed in eating the manna (Ex. 16 and 17); and also in the rock that Moses struck to give drink to his people (Ex. 17, 6; Num. 20, 7-11); and in many other figures.

Indeed, David, understanding the many figures, has shown them all in his words saying: *Memoriam fecit mirabilium suorum*, etc. He has united all the figures in this. Wishing to recast them he shows us three improvements [or developments]: first, to remember; second, to arouse the intelligence; third, to delight the will. All these three things need to be reformed.

First, the memory, where he says: *Memoriam fecit*.

Second, the intellect, where he says: *mirabilium suorum*.

Third, the will, where he says: *misericors et miserator Dominus escam dedit timentibus se*.

First, the memorial: *Memoriam fecit mirabilium suorum*. He gave us His Body in three memorials.

First, a memorial of love.

Second, a memorial of transformation.

Third, a memorial of the Passion.

A memorial of love. Take as an example a soul in love, whether good or bad. Consider a man in love with a woman. He fences, he plays games, he throws the disc, he dances. One in love with God does a thousand things more than one in love with the world. Paul and Peter and the other Apostles, oh, how many things they performed that aroused the whole world! As David says: *In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum* (Ps. 18, 5). And if they could arouse [enthuse], what do you think that the great God can do to us?

You know that when He came to the end of His life, He showed a love for the soul greater than all by giving Himself to man in food to eat. He could not show greater love. As David says: *Zelus domus tue comedit me*. "The zeal of Thy house hath eaten me up" (Ps. 68, 10). And I have given thee Myself to eat. . . .

Et si sensus deficit . . . Sola fides sufficit.

Augustine [Serm. 131, 1, Migne, P. L. 38, 729, *et seq.*] tells how we must believe as though He says: "Believe and eat Me." That is, receive Me in the Sacrament with faith, for I am the real Body and Blood of Christ: and that is enough for thee. *Sola fides sufficit.*

Sight is deceived, for He is hidden: no one can see that it is the Body of Christ. Taste does not seem to eat the Body of Christ; in fact, it seems to be mere bread; and still it is the Body of Christ. It appears to be bread to the smell, and yet it is the Body of Christ. Touch is also deceived, for it seems that we touch bread; and yet it is the Body of Christ. Hearing, that is the ear, is not deceived because it hears that this is the Body of Christ, and it hears from faith how this is certainly His Body. Nevertheless this Sacrament is hidden from all our senses except hearing which gives testimony to all the other senses. . . . The love He desires of thee is to be transformed with thee.

Thus even as the hearing hears, you should say: "Behold my Lord! I believe in Thee, I adore Thee, I desire Thee, my Lord!" And God will embrace thee at once and dine with thee and thou with Him. . . .

Behold five transformations, and see how great is the power of God. . . .

First, natural change (such as a seed growing into a plant).

Second, change by fire.

Third, change by generation.

Fourth, change by eating.

Fifth, change by love, that is, transubstantiation. . . .

Fifth by love. That is one who loves another, by this love becomes one with him; that is, he wills what the other wills. According to the words of Augustine [Tract. 26 in Ioan., Migne, P. L. 35, 1607 *et seq.*], when you tell your son, "My soul, my repose," through the love you bear him, he becomes yourself. Thus, too, when the soul loves God, it is transformed into God. . . . Thus the air is transformed into light by the sun and every least thing is clear; but in regard to the sun the air is nothing. Thus St. Paul, when he was raised to Heaven (II Cor. 12, 1-4), did not know where he was on account of the greatness and generosity of God. Therefore, too, David says: *Ad nihilum redactus sum*. "I am brought to nothing" (Ps. 72, 22).³⁸

THE COURSE IN PADUA, 1443

Bl. Albert of Sarteano, Vicar General of the Friars Minor (1442-43), sent St. Bernardine to preach in Padua for the Lent of 1443. The Saint was now in his last year of life. Ready for heaven after

38. *Ibid.*, pp. 487-490, 492-493, 495-496.

all his work and suffering for Christ, Bernardine preached a magnificent course of sixty-five sermons in this city of the north. Eight sermons were delivered before Ash Wednesday, the others during Lent and until the second Sunday after Easter (May 5). These sermons were taken down and then put into Latin by Daniele de Purcellis, as had been done by de Griffulis in Siena in 1425.

The Laurentian Library of Florence has a codex of these sermons. It is the Ashburnham Codex 150, and dates from the fifteenth century. The codex has 400 folios and is mutilated in many places. Four sermons are had only in part, as some folios are missing. (The original had actually only 390 folios; some scribe made a mistake in numbering folio 340 immediately after 329.) De Purcellis writes on folio 35: "Nec dubito quod plurima omixi et forte perverti plurimos sentencias prolatorum; que si minus bene scripta perlegis, michi imputes et non viro santto [*sic*]." ³⁹

At the end the writer gives a long account of the Saint's departure from Padua, of his journey to Vicenza, of the wonders worked in Padua during the course, and of the Saint's trials in Bologna.

The following is the list of titles as given by de Purcellis:

- | | |
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| 1. On the devil's seed | 15. On the three kinds of Christians |
| 2. On the seven sowers and seven kinds of seeds, and the ten rules to know the good and bad seeds | 16. On the three kinds of miracles |
| 3. On the seed of inspiration | 17. On incantations, superstition, etc. |
| 4. On the occult temptation of the devil [this seems to be a continuation of 3] | 18. On the triple light |
| 5. On a deceived conscience | 19. On abstaining from all evil |
| 6. On the three signs of the love of God for men | 20. On honoring parents |
| 7. On the ten flames of divine love and the ten joys of the Blessed Virgin | 21. On Sodomy |
| 8. On the mercy of God | 22. On the punishment of sodomites |
| 9. On the love of love | 23. On bad habits |
| 10. On faith | 24. On the beggar Lazarus |
| 11. On charity towards our neighbor | 25. On the prodigal son |
| 12. On the fruits of trials | 26. On good and bad company |
| 13. On the word of God | 27. On sins in the marital state |
| 14. On the universal judgment | 28. On confession |
| | 29. On the triple confession and its fruit |
| | 30. On correction |
| | 31. On contrition |
| | 32. On the conversion of the Samaritan |
| | 33. On usurers |

39. Tosti, *loc. cit.*, p. 219.

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| <p>34. On satisfaction or restitution</p> <p>35. On rash and criminal judgment</p> <p>36. On the need of restitution</p> <p>37. On merchants</p> <p>38. On restitution; who must make it?</p> <p>39. A moral exposition of the Gospel; on the seven loves that will not leave the soul till death</p> <p>40. On the three who stone Christ</p> <p>41. On restitution; where, to whom, and how it should be made</p> <p>42. On contrition</p> <p>43. On the three kinds of women; chaste, vain, and wicked</p> <p>44. On the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin</p> <p>45. On the aversion and conversion of Magdalen and of any soul</p> <p>46. On preparation for Holy Communion</p> <p>47. On the Name of Jesus</p> <p>48. On nobility of soul</p> <p>49. On the curses of sin</p> <p>50. On the Sacrament of the Body of Christ</p> | <p>51. On preparation for Holy Communion in general and its fruit</p> <p>52. On the Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ</p> <p>53. On preparation for Holy Communion in particular, and on the Lord's Prayer</p> <p>54. On the Resurrection of the Lord Jesus</p> <p>55. On mercy</p> <p>56. On beatitude</p> <p>57. On the number of the blessed and the Name of Jesus</p> <p>58. On knowledge; a sermon to students</p> <p>59. On widows</p> <p>60. On bearing away Paradise</p> <p>61. On the traffic of charity or divine love</p> <p>62. On Baptism</p> <p>63. On Purgatory and the souls existing there</p> <p>64. On the stigmata of Blessed Francis</p> <p>65. On the love of God, self, and neighbor⁴⁰</p> |
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Although these sermons have been published twice in past centuries, they still await a critical edition; moreover the older editions have serious defects and changes from the original text.⁴¹ From the prologue to these sermons, we see that it was Bernardine's intention to treat of "useful and speculative things about God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ, and on the imitation of Christ."⁴² Even as Christ used parables and similitudes, Bernardine said, so he saw fit to do the same. In fact, the main theme of these sermons is divine love. This is as it should be, for this course was given only a year before the Saint died. These sermons in general are milder and more mystical, revealing the advance of the Saint in holiness. The love of God and the desire to see Christ were uppermost in his mind and heart. The Padua course is rich and profound and gives light on the inner

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 220-221.

41. They were published in 1591 and in 1745, together with many other sermons of Bernardine. Cf. Tosti, *loc. cit.*, pp. 221-223.

42. Tosti, *loc. cit.*, p. 254.

core of Bernardine's soul. It shows us more of his union with Christ, his zeal, his love for God, and his sublime prayer. He treats of the seraph who appeared to St. Francis, and makes this vision the occasion of his talks on divine love. Treating of the six wings of the seraph, Bernardine says that during the six weeks of Lent he will treat of the divine fire which has six natures, or qualities. Fire moves, is incessant, warm, sharp, fervent, and raging (spreading).⁴³ When critically edited, this course will be a prized addition to the Saint's works.

The following is an excerpt from the course in Padua, 1443. It is taken from the sermon on preparation for Holy Communion in particular and on the Lord's Prayer, the fifty-third sermon.

The sixth preparation is truly devout prayer. For prayer to be devout four things are necessary. First, that prayer be distinct; second, that it be attentive; third, that it be fervent; fourth, that it be glowing. I say first that it is necessary that it be distinct, because when you pray, the words of your prayer should be so articulated and distinct one from the other, as if you were speaking with someone and wished that he would understand you exactly. . . . Second, it is necessary that the prayer be attentive, and note that there are four attentions. First, attention to the letter; second, to the meaning; third, to grace; and fourth, to glory. . . . Third, to grace; when you pray elevate your mind with that attention to grace which you are imploring. Fourth, attention to glory; that is, when the mind is suspended thinking of eternal glory, because prayer is an elevation of the mind to God. But which of these four is the greatest? Certainly the last which is anchored in God; for even though you may err in the words of the prayer, if you have the last attention, namely to the glory of God, the prayer is nonetheless good, in fact this last is better than the others. . . .

The seventh preparation is truly fervent devotion. For prayer must be devout with a certain fervor of divine love. When a certain sweetness of God is felt and when the heart burns with divine love, this is called devotion. Hence Christ says: *Ego veni ut ignem inmitterem* [sic] *in mundum*, etc. When you wish to pray go into a secret place and *clauso hostio* [sic], according to the graces you desire to ask you must use acts of the body. Thus John in the Apocalypse in the first chapter says: *Cum vidissem eum, cecidi quasi mortuus*. And so if you wish to acquire the grace of humility, cast yourself on the floor with your face on the ground, and humbly beg of God that by His mercy He would deign to infuse into you the spirit of humility; so that dispelling pride from you, you may become humble in all your works. When you wish to implore some grace raise your hands to the stars in heaven. When you desire some devotion and contrition regarding the Passion

43. *Ibid.*, pp. 254-255.

of Christ, say the *Pater noster* and other prayers with extended arms like Christ hanging on the Cross. At times, if you desire to have some grace in contemplating with a quiet mind, then be seated and thus contemplate. But do not remain so for long, lest you fall asleep, according to the text: *Sedebit solitarius inter se et Deum et levabit se supra se* [sic] *in Deo* (Lament. 3, 2), and thus you will adore in many modes and acts as the mind prompts you.⁴⁴

THE MASTER OF THE FRANCISCAN PULPIT

This modest study of some courses given by St. Bernardine is a personal tribute to one of the great glories of the Franciscan order. In this year of his fifth centenary the entire order is ready to honor this holy friar who exemplifies so well the ideals of Francis and of all his followers. From the study of Bernardine's sermons the whole order can be moved to new zeal in the arduous work of preaching, which has been well styled the *Opus Franciscanum*. In honoring St. Bernardine we honor those myriad hosts of friars, past and present, who simply and zealously carry the Cross to the nations. Whether at home or abroad the Friars Minor can well rejoice in St. Bernardine, the Master of the Franciscan Pulpit, and take on new strength in their labors for Christ.

While times and methods of preaching have changed, the doctrine and the need of preaching it are the same. In fact, the need of giving Christ to the nations of the world is today greater than ever. Hence the Holy Father, in his splendid letter on St. Bernardine, declares that the example of Bernardine brought before the people by sermons and appropriate writings, will draw them to heavenly things. The Pope believes that Bernardine is the man for our times, the saint to recall people to virtue, penance, and peace.

It is the duty of the Franciscan order to cherish the memory and works of this prince of preachers, and to work in his spirit, being animated by his zeal. It is the fond hope of the entire order that the new interest in St. Bernardine, aroused by this centenary both within and without the order, will increase his glory as the Master of the Franciscan Pulpit. If writers, preachers, lectors, professors, and students search the writings of Bernardine, quote him and imitate him; and if the Saint's works can all be edited critically, the Franciscan

44. *Ibid.*, pp. 262-263. Translated from the Latin original.

order may in the not distant future rejoice to see this sainted confrère, Bernardine of Siena, declared a Doctor of the Church.

Are such hopes too sanguine? Is such a thing possible? The answers are in our hands. St. Bernardine has not ceased to teach the Church since his death. His memory, his example, his writings have been an encouragement, especially to the Friars Minor, in all the five centuries since the "Trumpet of Heaven" departed for his heavenly reward. His moral and dogmatic teachings are sound and clear, highly developed and advanced for his time. His doctrines on social problems, on marriage, on the Immaculate Conception, on the power of the Blessed Virgin, on the glory of St. Joseph, on the Mass and the Sacraments, on prayer and the spiritual life, on the Holy Name and the life and Person of Jesus Christ, as well as his teaching and influence on his own order and religious life in general — all this heightens the glory of St. Bernardine and increases the great hopes of the Franciscan order that in due time it will be able to give the Catholic Church another Doctor in the person of St. Bernardine of Siena. If so, he will be the practical doctor of the popular Franciscan sermon; the master and exemplar of those preachers who try to imitate Christ by teaching the multitudes in parable and anecdote, speaking to them "of vices and virtues, of punishment and glory with brevity, because our Lord when on earth made a short word."⁴⁵ Space forbids further consideration of Bernardine's merit in this regard, but we hope to discuss this topic in a future article.

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45. *Rule of the Friars Minor*, chapter IX.

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THE ENQUÊTEURS OF LOUIS IX

AN OLD liturgical office in honor of St. Louis says of him that "he established the throne on justice."¹ As the monks of Saint-Denis sang those words amid the tapering shadows of their Gothic choir-stalls, they must have seen in them a statement becoming with every recurring August 25 more literally true. For history witnesses that St. Louis restored the French Monarchy to a position of strength such as it had not enjoyed since the days of Charlemagne; and the corner-stone of his policy was a passionate sense of justice. Whether we simply consider him sitting after Mass under that massive oak in the woods at Vincennes administering just awards personally, as Joinville in a delightful description has pictured him,² or whether with a more scholarly approach we search his actions and analyze his *Ordonnances* by the standards of Christian morality, we find that he was ever moved by that "constant and abiding desire to give to every one his right" which Aquinas, his *commensal* and equally illustrious contemporary, was propounding to be the essence of justice.

There is no finer testimony of his abiding and far-reaching sense of justice than the system of the *Enquêteurs* which he instituted. William of Saint-Pathus, the "Confessor of Queen Margaret" and the associate of Louis over a period of years, cites this as an outstanding proof of his justice,³ and M. Léopold Delisle, in his preface to the extant records of their work calls this creation "la plus éclatante manifestation . . . de l'amour de Saint Louis pour la justice."⁴

THE FAILURE OF JUSTICE

The numerous confiscations through which his grandfather, Philip Augustus, had increased the royal domain kept the tender

1. Quoted by Charles Petit-Dutaillis, *Cambridge Medieval History*, VI (New York: Macmillan, 1936), p. 361.

2. Sire de Joinville, *Chronicle of the Crusade of Saint Louis*, Book II (Everyman's Library edition, *Memoirs of the Crusades* [New York: E. P. Dutton, 1933]), p. 149.

3. Le Confesseur de la Reine Marguerite, *Vie de Saint Louis*, in *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, XX, p. 119. (This important *Recueil* [Paris: 1898 et seq.] of primary sources is referred to hereafter simply as *H. F.*)

4. *H. F.*, XXIV, preface, p. 2. Pope John XXII recommended this system of St. Louis to Philip le Long, his grandson, as one of his most praiseworthy acts (cf. Paul Lehugeur, *Philip le Long: Le Mécanisme du Gouvernement* [Paris: 1931], p. 301).

conscience of the pious King constantly ill at ease.⁵ By moves which could not have stood too searching an investigation by the moralist (despite what tenuous justification the feudal code of the day afforded), Philip had changed his rights as suzerain over a number of territories into rights as immediate overlord. It is significant that Philip himself, in an *ordonnance* made in 1190 as he set out for his Crusade, decreed that, should he die, half of his wealth was to be used in repairing the churches he had destroyed in war and in recompensing those "qui per talias nostras aporiati sunt."⁶ In his final will of September, 1222, he arranged for his executors to make restitution to those "from whom they know we have unjustly taken, wrested or kept anything."⁷ These we may take to be the worried dispositions of a conscience genuinely disturbed. If Philip's dealings were such as to trouble his own bluff self when he faced a Judge Whose standard consists of principles more solid than the accepted code of feudalism, we can appreciate that Louis, who from his infancy had a genuine detestation of sin in any form,⁸ should constantly feel uneasy about these inherited acquisitions which, at best, were of a questionable justice.

This was particularly true of the royal holdings in the South. There the crown possessions had been tremendously increased by forfeitures imposed on suspected heretics during the war on the Albigensians from 1207 to 1244. The established punishment for conviction of heresy was forfeiture to the Crown of all goods, movable and immovable.⁹ That many of the punishments meted out were palpably unjust and were crying to heaven for redress is to be seen from the number of settlements later commanded to be made. The abundant examples give us an insight into the flagrant perversions

5. Cf. Edgard Boutaric, *Saint Louis et Alphonse de Poitiers* (Paris: 1870), p. 386; Arthur Beugnot, *Essai sur les Institutions de Saint Louis* (Paris: 1821), p. 105.

6. Jourdan, Decrusy et Isambert, *Recueil Général des Anciennes Lois Françaises*, I (Paris: 1822) no. 80, (19), p. 182.

7. *Ibid.*, no. 133 (1), p. 219. He gives his dearest (*sic!*) wife, Ingebord, only ten thousand pounds Paris, so that he might the more fully make restitution for what he has unjustly received ([2], p. 220).

8. Cf. Joinville, *op. cit.*, pp. 140-141.

9. In 1206 the Pope had sent two Bernardine monks and the Abbot of Citeaux to judge the Albigensians. They were empowered to confiscate the goods of the guilty *seigneurs* (*Anciennes Lois Françaises*, I, no. 106, p. 202, footnote). An *ordonnance* issued by Blanche in April, 1228, during the minority of Louis, directed the bailiffs to take the goods of the heretics of Languedoc who remained contumacious for one year (*Ibid.*, no. 144 [7], p. 233).

of equity that took place in the name of justice. Thus a certain Guillaume Rubei, of Cailhau, was deprived of his inherited right to a periodic measure of wheat and two hens, because a certain R., holding the lands of Guillaume's father, was convicted of heresy.¹⁰ In the same town Pierre Rogerii and Raymunda, his aunt, were deprived of their field because Matthew Crevit, who was working it, was found to be a heretic.¹¹

The King's conscience must have been especially troubled that clerics and churches had been victimized with singular rapacity. Typical is the example of the treatment of the Monastery of Saint-Hilaire in Carcassonne, revealing the most tortuous applications of the letter of the law.¹² This Monastery had been deprived by Guillaume de Ulmeio, Seneschal of Carcassonne, of its right to one-half of the ville of Bouisse. The pretext for the seizure was that Pierre of Taix, a soldier, and his two brothers, who were holding the land of the Monastery, had become heretics — and though the Abbot had done all in his power, had even excommunicated the guilty ones, the Seneschal kept the land and its annual return of sixty *solidi* for seven years. The same Seneschal took the annual two measures of wheat, four of barley, and four of wine, which should by right have come to the Monastery from the ville of Villebazy; the heresy of the nobleman of Arzens who held the land was no justification for their forfeiture. Nor should the King (through his officers) have occupied for fifteen years the Monastery's rights in the ville of Corneille; for when P., who held it of the Monastery for a yearly rent, had become a heretic, the Abbot had taken it away from him and given it to another, and had even refused to give it to P. again when he came back to the Church. No less unjust was the seizure of another holding in the same ville on the grounds that R., who held it of the Monastery, allowed certain parts of it to be cultivated by heretics; because R. was uninterruptedly considered a good Catholic by the Church — and, at any rate, the Monastery, since it had had no part in the transaction, should not have been deprived of its rights. Justice in the feudal sense was the specious basis for all

10. *H. F.*, XXIV, p. 626.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 627.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 299-300.

these acts, and yet the Abbot and the monks and the Bishop of Carcassonne all knew that the real reason was injured pride. The offending Seneschal had taken a fancy to a piece of movable property, a certain small image of the Blessed Virgin in the Abbey. The Abbot had refused to give it to him when he demanded it; and all these injustices followed as the result of that slight. For the Seneschal had sworn before the Bishop of Carcassonne that he would for that reason damage the Monastery to the extent of 100 or 200 pounds—and he fulfilled his evil oath. He destroyed the houses belonging to the Monastery at Saint-Hilaire and Bouisse; accused the Abbot of having turned the Ville Saint-Hilaire over to the enemies of the King and the Church, whereas the Abbot and the monks had been expelled because they did not have a force strong enough to defend themselves. The destruction which he worked to the Monastery of Saint-Hilaire amounted to more than 300 pounds.

The King would naturally feel a more personal responsibility for the wrongs committed deliberately and maliciously by the local representatives of the Crown. In their ordinary administration these local royal officials were often so unrestrained in their deeds that it is difficult to find any semblance of justice in their acts. The condition was the result of a development that had been going on for years. At the time of Philip Augustus' coming to the throne the royal domain was divided, for purposes of administration, into thirty-eight provostships.¹³ About the year 1190 he arranged these thirty-eight provostships into a number of circumscriptions or bailiwicks, each one including an irregular number of provostships.¹⁴ Though there is some obscurity about it, this arrangement was likely made as Philip set out for the Crusade in 1190, at which time he suppressed the office of Grand Seneschal of France, an official who had been the general administrator of justice in the narrower domains of the King. At the head of each bailiwick Philip placed a

13. Raoul Rosières, *Histoire de la Société Française au Moyen Age* (Paris: 1882), p. 147.

14. The number of bailiwicks increased with the increase of provostships. Originally there were four (Beugnot, *op. cit.*, p. 126). By 1200 the number had increased to about twenty-five (Rosières, *op. cit.*, p. 148). When the Middle Kingdom was added to the realm two bailiffs were established, the one at Carcassonne and the other at Beaucaire (*Ibid.*).

bailiff.¹⁵ These officials were much like the feudal functionaries who acted as vicars for the counts during their absence at war or at the courts of their overlords — an institution common to feudal England and France. But there was this essential difference: these new officials were representatives, not of the local vassals of the King, but of the King himself. They were "less feudal" and "more royalist," to quote Guignebert's pithy description of their character.¹⁶ These bailiffs were charged with supervising, in the name of the King, the provosts within their jurisdiction.¹⁷ The provosts, as hitherto, were to continue their work of judging in matters of less importance, but now their work was under the supervision of the bailiffs. Hereafter cases exceeding the competence of the provosts, but not, however, of sufficient importance to come to the supreme court of the King, were in the hands of the bailiffs whom Philip was creating.¹⁸

The duties of the office of bailiff were defined by the *ordonnance* of 1190. They were to establish in each provostship a council of four prudent men without whose advice any measure of local administration could not be undertaken.¹⁹ They were to hold an assize each month at which all were to receive justice without delay.²⁰ They were to inform the King of the crimes of the provosts,²¹ but, unless it were an accusation of murder, abduction, or breach of trust, they could not remove the provost abusing his office.²² Three times a year, namely on the feasts of St. Remy (October 1), the Purification (February 2), and the Ascension (variable, between April 30 and June 3), they were to come to Paris to give an account of their

15. The officials at the head of the two bailiwicks in the South were called Seneschals.

16. Charles Guignebert, *A Short History of the French People* (New York: Macmillan, 1930), I, p. 220.

17. The term *bailli* in Old French means "guardian," from the Latin *bajulus*. Cf. W.-H. Maigne D'Arnis, *Lexicon Manuale Mediae Latinitatis* (Paris: 1890), *sub verbo*.

18. Rosières, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

19. *Anciennes Lois Françaises*, I, no. 80 (1), p. 179. At the same time he appointed six *homines probos et legitimos* for Paris. Constitutionalists will recognize this appointment of the *prudhommes* as the remote beginnings of representational government.

20. *Ibid.*, (2). Paris was to have an assize every four months.

21. *Ibid.*, (6).

22. *Ibid.*, (7).

administration and to bring the revenues of the bailiwicks²³ which were to be deposited at the Temple.²⁴

The constitutional possibilities of such an institution are not difficult to perceive.

These bailiffs, interested in winning the King's approbation, [says Guignebert²⁵] became most useful auxiliaries in his efforts to reconstitute the kingdom and the King's authority in the face of feudal disintegration and anarchy. They must be imagined as perpetually on the watch in their *baillivia*, ready to profit, on their master's behalf, by every opportunity for his aggrandizement, which hazard might bring in their way or which their mother wit might contrive.

Through their ministry the royal power would surely and rapidly increase, the central authority would unfailingly reestablish itself.²⁶

And yet the institution contained within itself the seeds of malpractice. Increasing the royal power, it at the same time increased the power of the representatives of the King.²⁷ In the growth of authority lay the potential abuse of their power, and in time these abuses multiplied. If at first the bailiffs were ready, in Guignebert's words, "to profit on their master's behalf," they soon became ready to profit on their own behalf. The *Quaerimoniae* offered to the *Enquêteurs* at a later date give us unnumbered examples of their high-handed dealings with the people. And there naturally was no court of appeal against the absolute power of these officials, for even though feudalism had allowed appeal to the highest court in the realm, these men *were* the highest court as it affected each locality. "Non audebant conqueri nec invenerunt justiciam," says²⁸ a report about two brothers in Montclar near Carcassonne who were being egregiously mistreated by the Seneschal. Not only did the bailiffs themselves abuse their own office, but they failed to restrain the excesses of their subordinates, the provosts. "Hec autem ita diffuse

23. *Ibid.*, (17).

24. *Ibid.*, (18).

25. Guignebert, *op. cit.*, pp. 220-221.

26. Charles Petit-Dutaillis (*The Feudal Monarchy in France and England* [London: Kegan Paul, 1936], p. 288) credits them with the most important share in building up the power of the central authority legally from the existing constitutional notions.

27. Cf. Ludovic Lalanne, *Dictionnaire Historique de la France* (Paris: 1872), p. 706.

28. *H. F.*, XXIV, p. 303.

scripsimus," the *enquêteurs* excuse their prolixity in recording the misdeeds of the provost of Laon, "ut injuria prepositorum, et etiam quod pauperes jus suum prosequi non possunt coram prepositis, regi manifestetur."²⁹

There is no reason to believe that Guillaume d'Ormais, Seneschal of Carcassonne and Beziers, was an exceptionally evil administrator; indeed, there is evidence to show that his conduct was emulated throughout the realm by many officials in a like position, who were supposed to promote justice in their jurisdictions. And this is the list of complaints against him which were reported to the *enquêteurs* as part of his misdeeds during his incumbency from 1239 to 1243. Brother Ponce, procurator and syndic of the Monastery of Saint-Hilaire, appeared before them with a list of the grievances of his Monastery, part of which is reproduced above.³⁰ A group of nine workmen complained that he had allowed them to be defrauded of their wages for their work repairing the walls of Carcassonne after the siege of 1240.³¹ A poor priest had to report that his cattle had been taken by the Seneschal under the pretext that they had been bought from a heretic; and he could neither get his cattle back nor secure a judicial trial, but had to be content in the knowledge that his cattle had gone to grace the table of the Seneschal.³² Another man had put up the trappings of his horse as a pledge — to find that Guillaume had taken them, giving as his arbitrary reason that the man had acted against the King.³³ The people of the ville of Palaja complained that he was accustomed to force from them twice the amount of grain that they were traditionally obliged to give, that he had constrained them to restore the wheat and wine belonging to the King which the soldiers of the Count of Toulouse had taken in their ville, that he had made them give money-payments beyond their obligations.³⁴ The town of Cavanac revealed that he had needlessly and arbitrarily increased their annual tribute.³⁵ He was charged

29. *Ibid.*, preface, p. 9.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 299 (*supra*, pp. 36-37).

31. *Ibid.*, p. 301.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 302.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 307.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 307.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 312.

on three different counts with unjust seizure of lands on the unfounded accusation of heresy.³⁶ Even once, some years before, when the King had sent envoys to redress the wrongs of the region, and the envoys had decided against the King to the extent of 100 pounds, the Seneschal reduced the indemnity of the King by 35 pounds (of which he returned 20 to the King and kept 15 for his own services).³⁷ Bad as this list of offenses reveals him to have been, Guillaume d'Ormais was not notably worse than his fellows; conditions such as existed in his Seneschalship were ordinary throughout the realm.

Especially during the two regencies of Blanche, when the power of King Louis IX was either (during the first) as yet untried or (during the second) far away in the Orient, the insolence of these officials seems to have exceeded all limits.³⁸ Indeed, so disastrous were the abuses of the local officers during Louis' first crusade, that the ever-faithful Joinville felt obliged in conscience not to leave his lands again as companion to Louis as he set out for the Orient once more in 1270.

Much was I pressed by the King of France and the King of Navarre to take the cross. To this I replied that while I was in the service of God and of the King overseas, and since I had returned, the sergeants of the King of France and of the King of Navarre had ruined and impoverished my people so that, to all time, I and they would be the poorer for it. And I told them this, that if I wished to do what was pleasing to God, I should remain here, to help and defend my people; and if I put my body in danger in the pilgrimage of the cross, while seeing quite clearly that this would be to the hurt and damage of my people, I should move God to anger, Who gave His body to save His people.³⁹

Joinville's convictions on the point were strong — so strong that, though he felt that his lord was going out to his death, he fought the desire in his faithful heart to go with him, as he helped him, weak and already dying, to the Monastery where they went to pray before Louis took the boat. There they resolutely took leave of each other, the good old friends, each determined to follow what in his conscience was the more urgently commanded by God — Louis, his

36. *Ibid.*, pp. 314, 317, 318.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 325.

38. Boutaric, *op. cit.*, p. 386.

39. Joinville, *op. cit.*, p. 320.

fatal crusade; Joinville, the protection of his people against the rapacity of the King's officials.

It would be a mistake to conclude from this incident that, while Joinville was alive to them, Louis was heedless of the grievances of his people. We must attribute his attitude to the overpowering exaltation of his spiritual idealism which, always strong, must have grown in intensity as he perceived his end drawing close. After his return from his first venture in the Orient he had personally made a tour of his provinces to receive the complaints of his people against his servants. In 1254 and 1255 he had journeyed through Flanders and Picardy, Artois and Champagne, in an effort to render justice.⁴⁰ So wasteful an expenditure of effort and time was, however, impractical. But it did have the advantage of revealing to Louis a situation that was intolerable to his soul. He found a bewildering violation of even the most elemental justice. Even a king less imbued with a sense of Christian equity than Louis could not well suffer such conditions to endure.

As late as 1257, after Louis had made every effort humanly possible, through his early commissions of *Enquêteurs*, to redress these wrongs, his conscience was still upset. In that year he obtained at his own request from his friend, Pope Alexander IV, a bull declaring that the restitution that might be obliging on the King of France would be sufficiently satisfied by alms to the poor.

It has indeed been devoutly petitioned of Us by thee, since thou art held to make restitution of certain goods which are known to have come to thee in different ways, to those persons to whom they belong, and thou knowest that thou art held to make restitution of such goods, and the persons to whom restitution of them should be made cannot be known and found, although thou hast caused a diligent inquiry to be made for them through discreet and suitable men, that We should take pains to make provisions for thee in this matter. . . . To thy excellency by authority of these letters present We grant that it be lawful to thee to distribute such goods as alms for the poor, so that thou receive a full acquittal and absolution for all which thou shalt so dispense.⁴¹

40. Beugnot, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

41. "Ex parte sane tua fuit a nobis devote petitum ut, cum tu quedam bona, que ad te diversis modis pervenisse noscuntur, personis quarum sunt restituere tenearis, et scias te teneri ad restitutionem bonorum hujus modi faciendam, ac persone quibus eorum restitutio fieri debeat, sciri et inveniri non possint, quanquam super hiis per viros discretos et ydoneos feceris diligenter inquire, provideri in hac parte tibi apostolica sollicitudine curaremus. . . . Excellentie tue auctoritate presentium indulgemus ut liceat

This was issued on April 11, 1257. Another letter, issued two days later, declared that his alms made to the various churches would also satisfy this obligation of restitution.⁴² On August 10, 1259, he wrote to every bishop of his realm requesting of him written authorization, to be granted according to a set form, to make restitution in this way in his diocese.⁴³

THE *Enquêteurs*

These facts indicate that Louis was clearly uneasy about the languishing condition of justice in his realm, and about his obligation in the matter as well. As he was laying his plans for his crusade of 1248, he was not unaware of all these abuses in his territory. To prepare himself worthily for the crusade which he had vowed to undertake, and to insure heaven's blessing on the venture, he knew that he must do something to redress these wrongs. He viewed his kingdom as being dedicated, after the manner of a knight, to this great service of God and an ideal; after the fashion of a knight, it should first be purged of all that was contradictory of that high service. So on the eve of his departure for the Crusades, in his holy desire to purify his possessions of injustices and to right the wrongs that had been committed by either the sovereigns of France or their agents, he dispatched a commission of *enquêteurs* for the first time in 1247. The Chronicler, Matthew Paris, records:

In that same autumn [1247], Louis, the most pious King of the French, sending Friars Preacher and Minor through his whole kingdom to make diligent inquiry, caused an investigation to be made also through the bailiffs and vocal announcements to be publicly proclaimed, that if any merchant or anyone else who had suffered any injustice in any forced transaction or extortion of money or food-stuffs (as is frequently done by the King's collectors) could produce a note or a record or a statement, or would swear or in any other way could prove [his claim], he was ready to restore all. And it was so done.⁴⁴

tibi hujusmodi bona pauperibus in elemosinam erogare, ut de hiis que taliter erogaveris liberationem et absolutionem plenariam consequaris" (*H. F.*, XXIV, preface, p. 10, footnote). The expression, "per viros discretos et ydoneos feceris diligenter inquiri," seems to point unmistakably to the *Enquêteurs*. For other evidences of the King's uneasiness over these matters, cf. the sources cited by Petit-Dutaillis, *The Feudal Monarchy*, p. 299.

42. *Ibid.*

43. *Ibid.*

44. Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, edited by Henry R. Luard (London: 1877), IV, pp. 638-639: "Ipso quoque autumpnali tempore piissimus rex Francorum L[u]do-

As the result of these preliminary attempts at investigating injustices Louis issued several *ordonnances* which were calculated, by reforming the bailiffs and provosts and lesser officials of the Crown, to correct these abuses. Two notable ones were made in 1250 and 1254. That of 1254 was more precise than the earlier one, but it was addressed to only certain bailiwicks. In 1256 Louis issued a reforming *ordonnance* directed to all the bailiffs in France. The text of the *ordonnance* of 1254 (with which the general one of two years later was virtually identical) provided among other things:

(1) the bailiffs and other officials of the bailiwicks were to take and subscribe to an oath, the infraction of which was to be punishable at the King's pleasure in goods of fortune or by bodily inflictions;⁴⁵

(2) by the oath they were to promise to render justice, without distinction of persons, according to the approved customs of the place;⁴⁶

(3) they were not to receive, either themselves or through their families, any presents of anyone, though they might receive food and drink to a value of less than ten *sous* Paris per week;⁴⁷

(4) they were not to receive a loan from anyone living in their bailiwick or from anyone who was likely to have a case in their court, if it were a question of a sum of more than twenty pounds;⁴⁸

(5) in their oath they were also to swear that they would give or send nothing to any member of the King's Council, or to their wives or their children or the members of their household, or to those who were to receive their reports, or to those whom the King might send to visit their lands or to examine their administration;⁴⁹

(6) all the bailiffs after the expiration of their term of office were to remain in the bailiwick for forty days in order to answer

vicus] missis fratribus Praedicatoribus et Minoribus per totum regnum suum, ut diligenter inquirerent, [fecit] etiam per bailivos perscrutari praeconiaque voce acclamari, quod si aliquis institor vel injuriam passus aliquam quicunque alius, in aliqua accomodatione coacta vel extorsione pecuniae vel victualium, ut solet per regios exactores, proferret scriptum vel talium vel testimonium, vel juraret vel quomodolibet aliter legitime probaret, quia paratus erat omnia restituere. Quod ita factum est."

45. *Anciennes Loix Françaises*, I, no. 170 (1), p. 267.

46. *Ibid.*, (2).

47. *Ibid.*, (4).

48. *Ibid.*, (5), p. 268.

49. *Ibid.*, (6).

charges brought against them before those appointed for receiving such charges.⁵⁰

These wise decrees were, as Petit-Dutaillis says,⁵¹ the result of the work of the first commissions of *enquêteurs*. Yet Louis could not have been so sanguine as to hope that these regulations would win immediate acceptance and obedience. As a step toward insuring their enforcement, therefore, he sent out more *enquêteurs* in yearly commissions. The success of the attempt in 1247 made him hopeful that a permanent method of justice could be developed from the practice. This method of administering justice he was later to recommend to his son.

And if anyone has an action against thee, make full *inquisition* until thou knowest the truth. . . . Use diligence to have good provosts and bailiffs, and *enquire* often of them, and of those of thy household, how they conduct themselves, and if there be found in them any vice of inordinate covetousness, or falsehood, or trickery.⁵²

The similarity between the *Enquêteurs* and the *Missi Dominici* of Charlemagne is striking and is remarked by most commentators.⁵³ It had, even in the days of the Merovingians, been the custom to send out plenipotentiary commissioners to settle certain matters in particular circumstances.⁵⁴ Under Charlemagne the system became a permanent instrument of state. He sent them out with the wider purpose of uniting the whole empire to the central power and reducing the power of the local aristocracy. They went through the provinces four times a year, observing the conduct of the local agents, and, by taking into their own hands the administration of justice during their presence, they gave the outline of a uniform and just application of the laws. They had unlimited jurisdiction in ecclesiastical, administrative, judiciary, and financial matters. A commission was, as a rule, composed of an outstanding cleric and

50. *Ibid.*, (31), p. 272.

51. *Cambridge Medieval History*, VI, p. 350; *The Feudal Monarchy*, p. 299.

52. *Instructions to His Son*, to be found, *inter alios locos*, in Joinville, *op. cit.*, pp. 322-323.

53. Cf., *inter alios*, Lalanne, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*; Adolphe Chéruel, *Dictionnaire Historique des Institutions, Moeurs et Coutumes de la France* (Paris: 1855), I, p. 352; A. Gasquet, *Institutions Politiques et Sociales de l'Ancienne France* (Paris: 1885), p. 141.

54. E. Glasson, *Histoire du Droit et des Institutions de la France* (Paris: 1888), II, pp. 444-449.

layman. Their term of office was limited to a year; but eventually they tended to perpetuate themselves in office, and many appointments were made for life. The result was that hardly a century after their creation they were in a state of decay.⁵⁵ The office gradually fell into desuetude, as much because of the abuses as because of the break-up of power under Charles' successors. With their disappearance went one of the most effective props of the central government and one of the formidable obstacles to the formation of the condition of things we know as feudalism. Whether consciously or unconsciously in imitation of the *Missi*, Louis IX once again strengthened the royal power in the thirteenth century by means of their revival under the name of *Enquêteurs*.⁵⁶

THE MENDICANTS AS *Enquêteurs*

It is at once evident that for carrying out this project which Louis had so sincerely at heart he would have to choose men of the most unimpeachable integrity. A chance phrase in one of the letters of appointment indicates the consideration which he paid to personal qualities in making his selections. After mentioning the names of the men he was appointing, he referred to them as men "de quorum prudentia et fidelitate fiduciam in Domino gerimus."⁵⁷ Louis could, and did, discover such reliable servants; and from among certain chosen knights, from among the secular clergy, but especially from among the members of the newly established mendicant orders,

55. Alcuin (*ob.* 804) in one of his letters (quoted by Glasson, *op. cit.*, p. 449, footnote) says: "Sed pro dolor! rari inveniuntur [missi] quorum ingrata in Dei timore mens omnem respuat cupiditatem."

56. Gasquet, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*, points out the likeness of the *Enquêteurs* to the *Commissaires départes* of Francis I and Henry II, and the *Intendants* instituted by Richelieu. The resemblance between the *Enquêteurs* and the itinerant justices of Henry II of England, who were sent out to investigate the official conduct of the sheriffs, is too remarkable to be missed. Petit-Dutaillis, with a great deal of probability, assigns Normandy as the breeding-ground common to them both (*The Feudal Monarchy*, pp. 165-166). The institution of the itinerant justices by the Plantagenet had eventually the opposite effect from that in France. The Assize of Clarendon, 1166, (William Stubbs, *Select Charters*, 9th edition [Oxford: 1921], pp. 167 *et seq.*) contained the seeds which were eventually to produce limitations on the monarchy and the growth of local self-government. It is another point in the curiously disparate development, from virtually identical roots, of the two monarchies of France and England. On the itinerant justices and their effect on the English Crown, cf. Pollock and Maitland, *The History of English Law* (Cambridge: 1898), I, pp. 155 *et seq.*, 170.

57. *H. F.*, XXIV, p. 7, preface.

the Dominicans and the Franciscans, he was able to secure men to serve his noble purpose.⁵⁸

That Louis should turn to the mendicant orders particularly for this work was wholly natural. Not only were they, by their profession, less likely than others to be moved by greed or ambition to flout justice,⁵⁹ but they had been most intimately associated with Louis since his childhood. The Franciscans had come to France in the summer of 1217, the Dominicans, the following September, when Louis was a lad of but three or four.⁶⁰ At once they were recognized by Blanche, that discerning Regent, as an important instrument for social good, and she soon began to show especial favor toward them. Louis, the boy-King, was put under their charge.⁶¹

58. Le Confesseur de la Reine Marguerite, *Vie de Saint Louis*, loc. cit.

59. That it was highly desirable to have men free alike from personal greed and the desire to enrich their dependents is to be seen from a section of his reforming *ordonnance* of 1254 — presumably reflecting a fairly common complaint — which demands an oath that no attempt will be made to bribe the *enquêteurs*: "Addetur etiam juramento ipsorum quod nihil dabunt, vel mittant alicui de nostro concilio, vel uxoribus eorumdem, liberis, aut aliis domesticis, vel illis qui compotum eorum recipient, atque illis quos ad visitandam terram vel facta eorum inquirenda mitemus" (*Anciennes Lois Françaises*, I, no. 170 [6], p. 268).

60. For an outline of the history of the Franciscan Order in the France of Louis IX, see Antoine de Serent, O. F. M., "Un Plan d'Histoire pour nos anciennes Provinces Françaises," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, I, pp. 515 et seq.

61. Cf. *Vita* (attributed to Bernard Guy), *H. F.*, XXIII, p. 160, where the Dominicans are mentioned especially as his tutors: "Puer igitur sanctae indolis, patre strenuissimo sic orbatus, sub tutela matris, videlicet Blanchae reginae, quondam regis Castellae filiae, remansit; quem ipsa tenerrime diligens, sub cura specialis magistri et consilio religiosorum, maxime ordinis fratrum Praedicatorum, in moribus et scientia tradidit imbuendum." There is a vague tradition, frequently repeated in non-critical works that Pacificus of the Marches, early companion of St. Francis, the poet who before entering the Order had been crowned by the Emperor "Rex Versuum," and the first Minister Provincial of France, became his tutor upon the retirement of Bishop Guerin. If this were so, the exceptional abilities of this master were wasted on the growing boy, if we are to credit the anonymous monk of Saint-Denis who says in his *Gesta Sancti Ludovici Noni* (*H. F.*, XX, p. 46) that he made only humble progress in the study of letters; Pope Boniface VIII, however, in his sermon on the canonization of St. Louis, says that he made praiseworthy progress (*H. F.*, XXIII, p. 155): "Cumque per incrementa temporum idem rex aetatis annum quartum decimum attigisset, praedicta regina sibi magistrum proprium deputavit, qui eum scientia litterarum imbueret ac bonis moribus informaret. Ipseque rex sub ejusdem magistri ferula positus, sic ei obediens et reverens existeret, sicque illius recipiebat humiliter disciplinam, quod superna praeventus gratia, profecit laudabiliter in utrisque." Another statement occasionally met with, but seemingly not substantiated by any evidence, is that Mansueto of Castiglione Aretino, O. F. M., (sometimes called Bl. Mansuetus) who died in 1263 (cf. H. Sbaralea, *Supplementum et Castigatio ad Scriptores Trium Ordinum S. Francisci*. [Rome: 1806], p. 507), was the confessor and also the instructor in Christian Doctrine appointed by Blanche for the boy-king on his fourteenth birthday.

While it is certain that after his first crusade he had as his confessors Franciscans and Dominicans exclusively,⁶² there is evidence that even in his earlier life they were at least his occasional confessors.⁶³ They oftentimes acted as chaplains in the royal chapel.⁶⁴ One of the reasons which must have served to strengthen considerably his regard for them was the support they gave his cherished project of a crusade to free the Holy Land. After Louis so dramatically took the cross as he lay, so it was thought, on his deathbed,⁶⁵ the Friars of both orders did much by their preaching to enlist the sympathy and help of the nobles and the people for the project.⁶⁶ He frequently, both prior to this time and after, manifested the confidence he had in the Mendicants by using them as his ambassadors and legates. Thus, in the early months of 1241 he had sent

62. Geoffrey of Beaulieu, O. P., *Vita, H. F.*, XX, p. 10.

63. Anonymous, *Vita, H. F.*, XXIII, p. 169: "Duos enim habebat de duobus ordinibus pauperum confessores, Praedicatorum scilicet et Minorum, ut amorem suum quem ad ordines istos habebat ostenderet." We have *Vitae* from three of his mendicant confessors, Geoffrey of Beaulieu and William of Chartres, who were members of the Dominican Order; and William of Saint-Pathus, who was a member of the Franciscans. Geoffrey was his almoner, spiritual director and counsellor for twenty years. He went with him to the Orient in 1248, and was captured and imprisoned with him. He assisted the dying King at Tunis, and accompanied his body back to France at the end of Louis' tragic second crusade. He wrote his *Vita* about 1272 at the command of Gregory X (cf. *H. F.*, XX, p. xxix). William was a secular priest when he went to the Orient with Louis on his first crusade, and was captured. He later joined the Dominicans. He accompanied the King on his second overseas venture, and was with him at his last hours. He wrote his *Vita* about 1276 (cf. *H. F.*, XX, p. xxi). The "Confessor" of Queen Marguerite is quite generally identified as William of Saint-Pathus, who was a Franciscan. He was the Queen's confessor and adviser for eighteen years, and afterwards the counsellor of Princess Blanche. His Latin *Vita* was published in 1303 (cf. *H. F.*, XX, p. xxxv). None of these lives can approach that of Joinville for human interest, though they may supply other details which Joinville was not astute enough to capture. Of the "Confessor," Arthur Beugnot says: "Moins agréable que Joinville, il est plus instructif. Joinville fait connaître Saint Louis comme homme, le Confesseur nous le montre comme roi" (*Essai sur les Institutions de Saint Louis* [Paris: 1821], p. 188).

64. Thus on the anniversary of the reception of the relics of the Passion for Sainte Chapelle Louis had services for three days, of which the first was in charge of the Dominicans, the second, of the Franciscans, and the third, of other orders (Old Lctionary, *H. F.*, XXIII, p. 163).

65. Cf. Joinville, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

66. Cf. Anscar Zawart, "History of Franciscan Preaching and Preachers," *Franciscan Educational Conference Report*, IX, pp. 248-249. As early as the year 1237 a Franciscan, Friar William, had been sent as the Pope's Legate to France to further the crusade (Anonymous, *Chronicum Normanniae, H. F.*, XXIII, p. 213). When news of Louis' defeat in his first crusade reached Europe, the Pope, at the instigation of Blanche, ordered the Friars of the two orders to go to the crusaders of the northern kingdoms of Europe to encourage them to go on to Syria (Luke Wadding, *Annales Minorum* [Quaracchi: 1931] *ad annum* 1250, III, p. 245).

two Franciscans to the Emperor of Constantinople to bring back the relics of our Lord's Passion, for which he eventually built Sainte-Chapelle.⁶⁷ The mission and the work of William Rubruck, whom Louis sent with Bartholomew of Cremona, both Franciscans, are well known.⁶⁸ In his company the Mendicants were constantly to be found, and no doubt they are to be included among those *regulares* whom the unknown author of an early life says he had put in his Council in such numbers that they could carefully defend the rights of the Church and the lowly.⁶⁹ The great scholastic Doctors, St. Thomas and St. Bonaventure, during their periods of teaching at the University of Paris were close to him. They were frequent visitors at his table.⁷⁰ Gilbert of Tournai⁷¹ and Bishop Eudes Rigaud,⁷² both Franciscans, had a great influence over him as advisers.

67. *Vita*, H. F., XXIII, p. 171.

68. Cf., *inter alios*, A. P. Newton, *Travel and Travellers of the Middle Ages* ["History of Civilization Series" (London: Kegan Paul, 1926)], pp. 129 *et seq.*, 181.

69. "Episcopus enim et regulares ideo specialiter habebat in consilio ut si ceteri assessores niterentur ecclesiastica jura pervertere, vel personas miserabiles plus solito molestare, tales sese viriliter opponerent et eorum fierent protectores" (*H. F.*, XXIII, p. 170). Especially in conferring ecclesiastical benefices did he seek the advice of the Mendicants (Geoffrey of Beaulieu, *H. F.*, XX, p. 11; cf. also Joinville, *op. cit.*, p. 310).

70. Albert Lecoy de la Marche, *La France sous Saint Louis et sous Philippe Le Hardi* (Paris: 1894), p. 142. A story is told that Louis once posed this problem to Bonaventure: What should a man prefer, if he had to make a choice — to die, or to live with the assurance of eternal damnation. Bonaventure showed him by means of a syllogism how never to exist was preferable to being separated perpetually from the Sovereign Good (*Ibid.*). A delightful picture is painted by Joinville of these gatherings of the friars at the table with the King. They were not always devoted to such serious discussions as the one mentioned above. "'You shall not read to me,' [the King would sometimes say] 'for after eating there is no book so pleasant as Quodlibets, that is that everyone should say what he likes'" (Joinville, translation by James Hutton, *Saint Louis, King of France* [London: 1868], p. 199; Marzials in his translation [*op. cit.*, p. 304] has failed to reproduce the pun).

71. He composed, probably at Louis' own request, the *Regula Regum* (Wadding, *Scriptores Ordinis Minorum* [Rome: 1650], p. 147). This work is credited with inspiring Louis to make a number of important changes in regard to wards and judicial trials, such as the abolishing of the right of conquest, of the *lex talionis*, and of judicial duelling (cf. *Franciscan Educational Conference Report*, XI, p. 37). For his preaching activity, cf. *Report*, IX, p. 267.

72. He became Archbishop of Rouen in 1248. The journal of the visitation of his diocese shows that he was often called to the Court by Blanche and Louis for consultation (Albert Lecoy de la Marche, *Saint Louis, Sa Famille, Sa Cour* [Paris: 1877], p. 482). He went with Louis on his second crusade. He is sometimes said to have been appointed executor of a will supposed to have been made by Louis in July, 1270. This document, however, is not extant, and if written at all, did not supplant that of 1269 which took effect (*Anciennes Loix Françaises*, I, p. 348, footnote). The tradition suggests, nevertheless, the influence which Eudes enjoyed with the King, presum-

In fine, Louis manifested his regard, not only for individual members of these two orders, but also for the orders themselves, in ways far too numerous to recount. Suffice it to mention his generosity in building monasteries for them,⁷³ his many alms to them,⁷⁴ and his desire to resign his crown in order himself to join one of them — a resolution which he would have carried out were it not for the opposition of Queen Margaret.⁷⁵ It was his boast that not even his closest friends could say which of the two orders he loved the more.⁷⁶

ably even in the period we are considering. The metrical catalogue of the Archbishops of Rouen calls him a "familiar of the King":

"Divinae legis non expers vernaque regis,
Hinc fuit Odo pater, minor insuper antea frater"

(*H. F.*, XXIII, p. 357). For his other activities, especially his preaching, cf. *Franciscan Educational Conference Report*, IX, p. 268.

73. Between 1217, when the Franciscans came to France, and 1270, when Louis died, fifty-five monasteries were built for them (Antoine de Serent, "Répertoire Alphabétique des Convents Franciscains," in *La France Franciscaine*, I, pp. 115 *et seq.*; cf. also Andre Callebaut, *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, X, pp. 356 *et seq.*). In the General Chapter of the Dominican Order held at Bordeaux in 1277 it was reported that in the Province of France there were fifty-two convents of the Friar Preachers (cf. Bernard of Guy, "Notitia Provinciarum et Domorum," in *H. F.* XXIII, p. 183). That the building of a considerable number of these monasteries of both orders should be credited to the King's munificence, we may conclude from Joinville (*op. cit.*, p. 324): "And like as the scribe who, writing his book, illuminates it with gold and azure, so did the said King illuminate his realm with fair abbeys that he built, and the great number of almshouses, and the houses for Preachers and Franciscans, and other religious orders as named above."

74. Because by his decree the religious, and especially the Mendicants, were to receive alms as often as the King entered Paris, he left the city the more frequently, designedly that they might receive the more alms upon his more numerous returns (Sermon of Pope Boniface VIII, *H. F.*, XXIII, p. 150). He contributed especially to the houses of the Mendicants connected with the University of Paris out of regard for the good which the friars studying there would do in his realm and throughout the world upon the completion of their course (*Vita*, *H. F.*, XXIII, p. 171). In his will he left his books, with the exception of those in his Chapel, to the Franciscans, Dominicans and the Abbey at Royaumont; he also willed 400 pounds to the Paris houses of the two orders, and 600 pounds to all other houses of both orders in the Kingdom of France (*Anciennes Loix Françaises*, I, no. 221, p. 349).

75. Geoffrey of Beaulieu, *Vita*, *H. F.*, XX, p. 7: "Nec silendum quod annos plurimos ante mortem ipse ad culmen omnimodae perfectionis adspirans, corde devote firmiter disponebat, quod adulto filio suo primogenito regnum penitus resignaret, et obtento uxoris assensu religionem intraret, unam videlicet de duabus, Fratrum Minorum scilicet, sive Fratrum Praedicatorum. . . . Cum autem dictum propositum, nacta opportunitate, consorti suae reginae secreto aperuisset, astringens eam quod hoc nullatenus alicui revelaret, ipsa nulla penitus ratione huic regis petitioni, sui desiderio, voluit assentire, rationes probabiles assignans in contrarium, ad ipsius regis propositum re-fellendum. . . ." He decreed that his two sons, John Tristan and Peter, should be raised, the one in the Monastery of the Dominicans, the other in that of the Franciscans, in Paris, in the fond hope that they might be attracted to joining the Orders (*Ibid.*; cf. also Wadding, *Annales*, III, p. 398).

76. Geoffrey of Beaulieu, *Vita*, *H. F.*, XX, p. 7: "Has enim duas [sc. religiones Minorum et Praedicatorum] specialissime diligebat, dicens quod si de corpore suo

In view of Louis' constant association with the Mendicants since the days of his childhood, it was inevitable that he should turn to them when he was casting about for members of the commissions he was instituting to reform his realm. We have seen above that, according to Matthew Paris, it was among the mendicant friars that he found the members for his commission of 1247.⁷⁷ In regard to the later commissions of *Enquêteurs*, may we not see an additional motive for selecting the Friars in that scene (which Joinville records) when Friar Hugh publicly admonished the monarch as to his obligation to establish justice in his realm?⁷⁸ Upon Louis' return from his first crusade in the summer of 1254

a gray-friar [Franciscan] came to him at the castle of Hyères, there where we disembarked; and said in his sermon, for the King's instruction, that he had read the Bible, and the books pertaining to heathen princes, and that he had never found, either among believers or misbelievers, that a kingdom had been lost, or had changed lords, save there had first been failure of justice. "Therefore, let the King, who is going into France, take good heed," said he, "that he do justice well and speedily among his people, so that our Lord suffer his kingdom to remain in peace all the days of his life". . . . The King forgot not the teaching of the friar, but ruled his land very loyally and godly, as you shall hear [concludes his biographer].

The connection seems inescapable between that piece of fearlessly frank advice and the reforming *ordonnance* issued the following December; hardly less certain is the deduction that Louis on account of this admonition chose to a large extent as the administrators of that reform members of the same order of Franciscans, and the fellow-order of Dominicans, to which the outspoken preacher belonged.

Fortified with the authorization of the Supreme Pontiff, the King obtained from the heads of these two orders those members who were best qualified by training and natural endowments to undertake this delicate work bristling with so many difficulties. A letter from Count Alphonse of Poitou who, as we shall see, used the *Enquêteurs* in his appanage after the example of his brother Louis, shows that,

posset duas facere portiones, unam daret uni, reliquam alteri. Unde et familiariter dicebat, se in hoc modicum gloriari, quod familiares sui, qui sibi quasi continue assistebant, discernere non poterant quem ordinem magis diligebat e duobus."

77. *Supra*, p. 43. Cf. also Wadding, *Annales, ad annum* 1247, III, p. 214.

78. Joinville, *op. cit.*, p. 149. See also *Ibid.*, p. 301, for further evidence of his fearlessness.

at least in some cases, the royal authorities themselves indicated those whom they wanted for the position.⁷⁹ There was, however, some discretionary choice left to the friars so chosen themselves, since in the same letter the friar appointed is to have the authority to use other friars whom he judges "fit and honest" — and this, using the authority of the superior by a special mandate of the Count. This is borne out by a letter written on the same occasion to the friar selected by Alphonse, telling him to send two friars into different regions; the names of those so appointed were to be sent to Alphonse.⁸⁰

Louis' design and his wisdom in choosing for this position men who were vowed to poverty is clearly brought out when one remembers the venality of medieval officials in general. The Mendicants were, one should keep in mind, in the fair days of their original fervor. Abuse of justice through the power of money and gifts Louis quite evidently had great reason to fear and dread. That the ordinary public official of the day was not above selling his conscience for a few pounds Paris is abundantly proved by the depositions of the commissions of enquiry. There is a very definite significance in the paragraph of the reforming *ordonnance* of 1254, cited above on page 44. It indicates that the earlier commissioners had not gone through their work without being invited to the counting tables of the *seigneurs*.⁸¹

Though the Mendicants played the largest part in this noble effort of a saintly man to re-establish justice, they were not used exclusively. The Confessor of Queen Margaret points out that secular priests and even simple courtiers were employed.⁸² Such men

79. "Viro religioso ac in Christo sibi karissimo fratri Imberto, magistro ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum, salutem et sinceram in Domino caritatem. Vos rogamus quatinus fratri Henrico de Champigniaco, priori Senonensi, per obedienciam velitis injungere vestris patentibus litteris ut ipse possit, per se et per alios, forefacta nostra in terris nostris emendare et alia quae ibidem sunt expedienda, secundum Deum, quando et quocienscumque, ex parte nostra, fuerit requisitus; dantes eidem speciale mandatum ut per obedienciam possit compellere ex parte vestra illos quos ad premissa exequenda ydoneos viderit et honestos" (Boutaric, *op. cit.*, pp. 390-391).

80. *Ibid.*

81. "Addetur etiam juramento ipsorum, quod *nihil dabunt*, vel mittant alicui de nostro concilio, vel uxoris eorumdem, liberis, aut aliis domesticis, vel illis qui computum eorum recipient, *atque illis quos ad visitandum terram, vel facta eorum inquirenda mitemus*" (*Anciennes Lois Françaises*, I, no. 170 [6], p. 268).

82. *Loc. cit.*

were always illustrious for either birth or merit. One of the most renowned secular clerics used by Louis was Gui Fouquet, who was later (1265-1268) to be Pope Clement IV.⁸³ It is pointed out that in the southern provinces Alphonse used the secular clergy and knights, though elsewhere he used mendicants almost to the exclusion of others; and it is suggested that prudence directed him to use for his *enquêteurs* there men who would not be confused with the religious inquisitors in that section, who were chosen from among the Dominicans and, to a lesser extent, the Franciscans.⁸⁴

The names of the *enquêteurs* which come down to us are comparatively few. For the most part little more is known about these men than their names and the dates and places of their activity.⁸⁵ But of all of them we do know that they were men of better than ordinary virtue and prudence, men who were notable among their contemporaries for the confidence a holy king reposed in them. Those whose work is described in the *Quaerimoniae* are:

Pierre de Châtre, a Canon of Chartres, and Friar Jean du Temple, de Troyes and Jean de Saint-Leu, O. F. M., who conducted the enquiries in the Dioceses of Meaux, Troyes, Auxerre and Nevers in 1247;

Guillaume de Sengin and Hugues d'Hierre, O. P., and Robert de La Basseie and Gilles de Gerlin, O. F. M., for the Dioceses of Arras, Terouanne and Tournai in 1247. The last two mentioned were for some reason removed and in their places were substituted Brother Thierrî, the former Abbot of Valenciennes, and Brother Jean de Fauquemberg;

Pierre de Châtre, a Canon of Chartres, and Friar Jean du Temple, of the Order of the Valley of Scholars,⁸⁶ for Carcassonne and the

83. He will be remembered, *inter alia majora*, as the patron of the Mendicants in France in their struggle with the secular clergy. Perhaps the contacts he had with them on these commissions may have heightened his opinion of them and influenced his stand in the controversy.

84. Boutaric, *op. cit.*, p. 391.

85. *H. F.*, XXIV, pp. 8-9, preface. This list, of course, is not exhaustive. The proportion of Mendicants used for the work in general was probably in proportion to their preponderance in this fragmentary list. Another point which the list demonstrates is that a man, once he had been found a worthy and satisfactory servant for this task, would be used again.

86. An order founded in 1212 by four Doctors of the University of Paris (*Catholic Encyclopedia* [New York: 1913], VIII, p. 790). It is no longer in existence, having been joined with the Congregation of Saint Genevieve in 1646 (cf. *ibid.* VII, p. 458).

neighboring region, 1247, for the Dioceses of Beziers and Agde in 1247, for Alais the same year, for the Diocese of Nimes in 1247 and 1248, for Beaucaire in 1248;

Philip, Archbishop of Aix, Ponce de Saint-Gilles, O. P., Guillaume Robert, O. F. M., and Gui Fouquet (later Pope Clement IV), for a lengthy visitation of Beaucaire and Carcassonne that lasted from 1254 to 1257;

Master Jean de la Porte, a Canon of Paris, Brother Thiecelin and Brother Jean de Longueval for Paris and Sens in 1255. Jean de la Porte was used again in 1262;

Robert de la Houssaie, the Dean of Senlis, for Amiens in 1255, later for Picardie and Champagne. In 1257 he was in Picardie with Adam de Saint-Riquier, O. P., and Robert de Nesle, O. F. M. In 1257 he was in the Diocese of Reims, and in 1258 in Vermandois. Robert had the position continuously from 1255 to 1258; in that year he became the Bishop of Senlis;

Geoffroi de Bulli, the Archdeacon of Orleans, Geoffroi Tribuel, O. P., and Pierre de Valenciennes, O. F. M., in Bourges, Tours and Orleans in 1256 and 1257;

Gui Fouquet and Philippe de Cahors were *enquêteurs* in Carcassonne about 1258;

Henri de Vezelai, Nicolas de Chalons and Pierre de Voisins, masters of the King's Court, were in Carcassonne again in 1258 and in 1262;

Master Etienne de Lorris, Canon of Reims, Robert de Nesle, O. F. M., of Amiens, Thomas de Chartres, O. P., of Paris, conducted an investigation in Amiens, Vermandois and Senlis in 1268.

THE WORK OF THE *Enquêteurs*

To a certain extent we can reconstruct the procedure which the *Enquêteurs* followed in the course of their investigation. Their appointment would be announced to the section which they were to visit through the bishops and the bailiffs.⁸⁷ Complaints were addressed to them by mouth or by letter. In some instances we have letters embodying the complaints of the more important people of a

87. This will be seen from the letter quoted *infra*, note 92, p. 56.

locality. Typical is a letter which Guillaume, Bishop of Lodève addressed to Ponce de Saint-Gilles, O. P., and Guillaume Robert, O. F. M., the *enquêteurs* coming into his Diocese.⁸⁸ He alleges that at the time that the King of France acquired immediate claim over Carcassonne and Beaucaire the Bishop of Lodève had been granted jurisdiction over certain cases by a royal privilege; as time went on, however, the royal officials had usurped this privilege of the Bishop *injuste et indebite*. There had been a whole series of grievances in violation of feudal law which were then minutely listed. Upon their arrival in the place to which they were deputed the *enquêteurs* were available to all. The complainants were put under oath. This we infer from the nature of the case, and from certain explicit references to an oath. Thus in one document we find the expression "super quibus suo sacramento credatur."⁸⁹ And again,

si vero sunt aliqui de praedictis, quorum juramentis credi jussimus super habitis de materia vel emenda, qui propter imbecillitatem aetatis vel jurare vel veritatem scire nequiverint, inquiratur veritas per duos vel tres de propinquis juratos, et eis stetur.⁹⁰

The bailiffs and provosts were charged with supplying the *enquêteurs* with their needs and expenses.⁹¹

88. "Vobis religiosi viris fratri Poncio de Sancto Aegidio, de Ordine Fratrum Praedicatorum, et fratri Guillelmo Rotberti, de Ordine Fratrum Minorum, et prudenti viro Guidoni Fulcodio, inquisitoribus constitutis ab illustrissimo domino Ludovico, Dei gratia Francorum rege, graviter conquirendo significat Guillelmus, miseratione divina Lodovensis episcopus, quod, cum tempore quo dominus rex terram senescalliae Carcassonnensis et Biterrensis ad manum suam acquisivit, et ante et postea, praedecessores ejusdem episcopi essent et fuissent, et idem episcopus sit et fuerit, per se vel per alios, in possessione vel quasi possessione plenae jurisdictionis et judicariae potestatis omnium causarum et inquisitionum civilium et criminalium atque capitalium et fidelitatum regi debitarum et regalium et feudorum episcopio suo adquisitionum et cavalcatarum totius episcopatus Lodovensis, quae omnia fuerunt olim cunctis Lodovensibus episcopis concessa in privilegiis serenissimi domini Philippi, condam Francorum regis, senescalli, ballivi, vicarii, judices, et alii officiales curiae domini regis, post dictam adquisitionem terrae, invitis vel ignorantibus ipso episcopo et suis praedecessoribus, incepterunt injuste et indebite et contra praedicta privilegia facere et adhuc plerumque faciunt aliquas citationes et criminum inquisitiones ac condemnationes et illicitas per vim et metum exactiones, et incepterunt recipere et receperunt nomine regio quorundam feudorum ad dictum episcopum pertinencium recognitiones, et etiam incepterunt mandare et adhuc mandant aliquibus hominibus cavalcatas, debitas ipsi episcopo in episcopatu Lodovensi et terra, hominibus feudalibus et subditis ejusdem episcopi, prout haec inferius exponentur. . . ." There then follows a list of specific grievances. (*H. F.*, XXIV, pp. 539-540.)

89. *Ibid.*, pp. 532.

90. *Ibid.*

91. "Ludovicus, Dei gratia Francorum rex, dilecto et fideli suo Jodvino, baillivo Byturicensi, et Petro, baillivo Aurelianensi, necnon et prepositis sibi subditis, ad quos

The duties of the *Enquêteurs* can be outlined from a letter addressed by Louis to the Bishops of Meaux, Troyes, Auxerre, and Nevers, and the bailiffs of that region, in which he explains the purpose for which he is sending these investigators into their territory.⁹² Briefly they are these:

(1) to receive and record in writing, and to search out according to a given form, complaints which might exist against the King for any reasonable cause, either for some abuse of Louis himself or his predecessors;

(2) to receive and record in writing, and inquire simply and openly about injuries, exactions and services unjustly received, and about all other evils committed or permitted by the bailiffs, the provosts, foresters, sergeants, or their families during the reign of Louis;

(3) to impose on those offenders or their heirs the obligation of making restitution for those transgressions of which they were convicted by either their own confession or the proof of witnesses.

litere presentes pervenerint, salutem. Cum nos fratres Petrum Chotardum, Theobaldum de Columbariis, de ordine Fratrum Predicatorum, Nicolaum de Trecis et Johannem de Sancto Lupo, de ordine Fratrum Minorum, pro nostris negociis et agendis, per Meldensem, Trecensem, Antissiodorensem et Nivernensem dioceses destinemus, mandamus vobis quatinus dictis fratribus, vel loco ipsorum substitutis vel substituendis, in expensis necessariis provideatis, cum ab ipsis vel loco ipsorum substitutis fueritis requisiti" (*H. F.*, XXIV, pp. 4-5, preface).

92. "Ludovicus, Dei gratia Francorum rex, dilectis et fidelibus suis Meldensi, Trecensi, Antissiodorensi, Nivernensi episcopis et eorum officialibus, necnon et baillivis et prepositis regiis, tam in civitatibus quam in diocesisbus eorum constitutis, salutem et dilectionem. Noveritis quod nos dilectos nostros fratrem Petrum Chotadi, fratrem Theobaldum de Columbariis, de ordine Fratrum Praedicatorum, fratrem Nicholaum Trecensem, fratrem Johannem de Sancto Lupo, de ordine Fratrum Minorum, destinavimus ad dictas civitates et dioceses, de voluntate et licentia provincialium, prioris et ministri ipsorum, ad audiendum et redigendum in scriptis et ad inquirendum secundum formam sibi a nobis traditam de quereimoniis, si quas habent aliqui contra nos, ex quacunque causa rationabili, vel ratione nostri vel antecessorum nostrorum; insuper ad audiendum et scribendum et ad inquirendum simpliciter et de plano de injuriis et exactionibus, serviciis indebite receptis ceterisque gravaminibus, si qua facta sunt aliquibus sive allata per baillivos nostros, prepositos, forestarios, servientes vel familias eorumdem, tempore regni nostri, et ad injungendum predictis vel eorum heredibus ut ipsi restituant ea ad quorum restitutionem per ipsorum confessiones vel per probationes viderint predicti Fratres ipsos secundum Deum teneri. Mandamus igitur vobis, quatinus predictis Fratribus vel aliis, si quos predicti prior et minister loco ipsorum quandoque duxerint subrogandos, super predictis et ad hec pertinentibus credatis et intendatis, et ipsos efficaciter adjuvetis. Vobis autem baillivis et prepositis specialiter mandamus quatinus, ad requisitionem Fratrum predictorum, citationes et alia que ad predictum negocium expedire viderint faciatis" (*H. F.*, XXIV, p. 4, preface).

Another interesting letter⁹³ reveals several limitations put by the King on the competency of the *Enquêteurs*:

(1) affairs of greater moment would have to be referred to the King for his personal solution. But in all other affairs they could decree and make what restitution they thought was called for;

(2) they could not reopen a case that had already been closed by a decision of previous *enquêteurs*. *A pari*, it seems, they could not receive appeals from just sentences given with due process of law: they took judicial cognizance only of the abuses of power and extortions which had not been the subject of a proper judgment.

There is reason to believe that Louis gave to each commission before it began its work a set of questions which they were to use in inquiring into the abuses in their respective regions. He himself speaks of inquiring "secundum formam sibi a nobis traditam."⁹⁴ From an exceptionally complete report of the testimony of 508 sworn witnesses who appeared before the commission of the *enquêteurs* examining the administration of Mathieu de Beaune, the Bailiff of Vermandois, M. Delisle has reconstructed⁹⁵ the questionnaire that the *Enquêteurs* used:

(1) How has N. acted in his bailiwick?

(2) How has he acted in protecting the rights of the King, his possessions, and the land?

(3) In the administration of N. have the rights or possessions of the King been diminished any?

(4) How has he acted in handling cases and pleas?

(5) Has he asked, received, or kept any loan or deposit?

(6) Has he, his wife, his children, or anyone else for them, bought, sold, or exchanged anything, or otherwise made agreements with anyone else in which some advantage was taken?

93. "Ludovicus, Dei gratia Francorum rex . . . eis quantum ad hoc plenam damus potestatem et speciale mandatum ut restitutiones et emendaciones faciant loco nostri, ad quas faciendas cognoverint nos de jure teneri; ita tamen quod in rebus magni ponderis, sive mobilibus, sive immobilibus, ad nos volumus haberi recursum; in aliis vero, si aliqua fuerint eis dubia vel obscura, damus eis potestatem ordinandi et faciendi, super hiis, prout, inspecta salute anime nostre, viderint ordinandum. Nolumus autem quod inquisitores predicti super hiis que per alios inquisitores terminata fuerint se ullatenus intromittant. Quod si omnes tres predictos hiis exequendis interesse contigerit, volumus quod duo ex ipsis ea nihilominus exequantur. . . ." (*H. F.*, XXIV, pp. 7-8, preface).

94. *Supra*, note 92, p. 56.

95. *H. F.*, XXIV, p. 318, preface.

(7) Has he or anyone else for him asked or kept anything for making peace, for determining a settlement, or for doing justice?

(8) Has he unjustly arrested, imprisoned, or punished anyone in goods or in person?

After all the depositions had been received the *enquêteurs* would draw up a list of settlements to be made and would forward this to the bailiffs or seneschals.⁹⁶ These officials would then make the payments from the funds they had on hand, either personally or through some intermediary appointed by the *enquêteurs*.⁹⁷ After their investigations had been completed, and they were satisfied that their directions had been carried out, they would come to the capital to make a written and verbal report to the King.⁹⁸

Since, as has already been indicated, to a large extent the members of the various committees were hand-picked by the King with an eye on the personal qualities of his nominees, we would expect *a priori* that they were all heartily devoted to furthering the laudable purpose of the King. We are hindered by the lack of entire evidence from passing an absolute judgment, but if we may legitimately generalize from the very slight proportion of records that remains, we must conclude that the *Enquêteurs* did their work thoroughly and well.⁹⁹ Boutaric, writing in 1870, before the publication of the documents now available, expressed an admiration for the sense of justice that characterizes these relics of the institution:

I have found in the Archives of the Empire a part of the procedure of the *Enquêteurs*. It is a wonderful thing to see the care with which they act toward the complaints of the people and with what justice they pronounce against the King or against his officers.¹⁰⁰

96. "Philippus, Dei gratia Aquensis archiepiscopus. . . Emendas seu restitutiones pecuniarias, quas pro domino nostro, serenissimo rege Francorum nuper apud Nemausum decrevimus faciendas nobilitati vestrae transmittimus, vos rogantes et ex parte regiae celsitudinis requirentes, quatinus easdem sine difficultate solvatis, factis solutionibus praesentes litteras retenturi. . ." (*H. F.*, XXIV, p. 532).

97. *Ibid.*, p. 536.

98. Those written reports which are still extant are to be found in *H. F.*, XXIV, edited by Léopold Delisle (Paris: 1904). The reports are an incomparable source for French social conditions of the period. As M. Delisle in editing them has pointed out, what remains constitutes only a "bien faible partie des procès-verbaux" (*Ibid.*, p. 2, preface).

99. We must not rule out the possibility that some may have failed to live up to the King's expectations. There is the possibility of this in the fact (mentioned without explanation) that Robert de La Basseie and Gilles de Gerlin, Franciscans, were removed and others substituted for them in 1247 (*H. F.*, XXIV, p. 253).

100. Boutaric, *op. cit.*, p. 388.

Justice, as the term was in those times understood, and according to the safeguards that then bolstered it up, was undeniably done. Consider as a typical example the decision of the *enquêteurs* as to the various complaints of the town of Moussoulens. Neatly the report lines up those points in which the complaints were justified, and those in which they were to be rejected.¹⁰¹

Louis' sense of justice properly regarded the rights of the Crown, as well as the rights of the people. Any certain rights of the Crown were inalienable, and if in the visitation of the *enquêteurs* a miscarriage of justice should offend against these crown rights, there should always remain to the King the right to correct this mistake.¹⁰²

The work of the *Enquêteurs* found an occasional mention in the literature of the day. A contemporary *chanson* expresses the bitter complaint of a *seigneur* troubled by the severe justice of the visitors.¹⁰³ "I should like to remain master of my own fief," he complains tersely and with more than a suggestion of peevishness. Very likely his words and sentiments were repeated often throughout the regions where the long arm of the King had reached through his reforming envoys.

THE RESULTS OF THE SYSTEM

Among the results of the work of the *Enquêteurs* we must grant the primary position to the objective which Louis had in instituting them, the doing of justice. The ordinary everyday worker had his chicken given back to him, his measure of wheat returned, and his freedom from undue *corvées* affirmed. The people were given the opportunity to express their grievances, and, so far as we know, no grievance, even the humblest, just so long as it had a semblance of *prima facie* justice, was denied a fair consideration. Yet we must beware of making the picture too rosy: no society can be made

101. "Quia secundum formam inquisitionis nostrae invenimus praedictos homines in possessione libertatis... donec ballivi praedicti eos... compulerint, ipsos esse decernimus restituendos ad eam possessionem libertatis vel quasi in qua erant antequam praemissa facere cogerentur... Quantum vero ad ceteros articulos in petitione contentos, ipsos duximus repellendos, praesertim cum ipsi sponte renunciaverint quibusdam" (*H. F.*, XXIV, p. 690).

102. "...salvo tamen domino regi jure proprietatis, quoties voluerit in judicio experiri..." (*Ibid.*).

103. Quoted by Lecoy de la Marche, *La Société aux Treizième Siècle* (Paris: 1880), p. 126.

perfect, certainly not in the period of a few years, no matter what the zeal and the efforts of the ruler. Joinville when he was pressed by the King to join him on the King's second crusade pleaded not only the excesses that the royal officers had perpetrated in his previous absence but also those they had committed *since his return* from the first overseas expedition with the King, during the very period in which the institution was at its height.¹⁰⁴ The interim between the visits of the *enquêteurs* was, likely, a period for recouping depleted revenues and taking revenge. Yet, that a certain amount of justice was accomplished which would otherwise have remained undone, was not an inconsiderable achievement.

Besides this positively intended effect, the work of the *Enquêteurs* had the indirect effect of strengthening the royal authority. This can hardly have lain within the range of Louis' design. Even the people could see that the *Enquêteurs* were founded only for the sake of justice. In the moral strength of that most disinterested of motives St. Louis could write at the end of his *Ordonnance* of 1254 which the *Enquêteurs* were appointed to enforce:

Each and every one of the foregoing provisions, therefore, which we have thought should be made *for the peace of our subjects*, reserving to ourselves the fulness of royal power to declare, change, or even correct, add or lessen, we strictly will to be observed by our bailiffs and subjects.¹⁰⁵

The "regia potestas declarandi, mutandi, vel etiam corrigendi, addendi vel minuendi" had probably not been so openly claimed or so effectively backed since the days of Charlemagne. The way was being paved for Beaumanoir to say that the King had supervision of justice in all the land — and what the developments that flowed therefrom for constitutional law would be is clearly seen.

Charlemagne is highly praised [remarks Beugnot¹⁰⁶] for his creation of the *Missi* — an institution which had great results for the internal administration as well as for the political position of the State. Equal praise should be given St. Louis.

104. *Supra*, p. 41.

105. "Omnia ergo singula supradicta, que pro subditorum quiete duximus ordinanda, retenta nobis plenitudine regie potestatis declarandi, mutandi, vel etiam corrigendi, addendi vel minuendi, a baillivis nostris et subditis... districte volumus observari" (*Anciennes Lois Françaises*, I, no. 170 [39], p. 274).

106. Beaugnot, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-107.

Much of the credit for uniting the Middle Kingdom and the South to the Crown must be given to the *Enquêteurs*. In the Middle Kingdom the abuses of justice were especially flagrant by reason of the distance of the royal court and the absence of any effective means of control.¹⁰⁷ There the bailiffs controlled the produce of the land, exacted for their own benefit work-services that were not legally due, and in general oppressed the lower classes by all manner of injuries and injustices. It was a tradition for the powerful *seigneurs* of the South to allow their officers to seize everything for their own aggrandizement. The campaign against the Albigensian heretics, giving a species of legality to these injustices, aggravated the abuses. Alphonse, the King's brother, who governed these newly acquired lands for the Crown, wisely adopted the measures of administration of his brother. The *Enquêteurs* became a prominent feature of the administration of this territory. Over and above the general function of receiving and redressing the complaints of the people, there they had the further charge to study the reforms which were needed in those provinces and to propose those which seemed desirable.¹⁰⁸ The South became united to the Crown largely through this system of administration through the *Enquêteurs*.¹⁰⁹

It is beyond the scope of this paper to trace the history of the *Enquêteurs* after the reign of Louis IX.¹¹⁰ That it had a far-reaching effect on French constitutional law may, however, be suggested *en passant*. Stubbs, in pointing out¹¹¹ the relation between the itinerant justices of Henry II and the *Curia Regis* in England, indicates the general lines along which the *Enquêteurs* helped the growth of *Parlement* in France. The representative system sprang naturally from the seeds of feudalism in both England and France. In feudal days the Kings made progresses throughout their lands, holding court at different places on different occasions, where complaints would

107. Petit-Dutaillis, *The Feudal Monarchy*, p. 297.

108. Boutaric, *op. cit.*, p. 389. They made rules on justice and on the punishment of heretics, which the Count had the right to reject or modify at will. In general, Alphonse left less to the discretion of these inspectors than Louis had. His court at Paris usually examined and decided on the claims received.

109. Petit-Dutaillis, *op. cit.*, pp. 297, 229-301, 319.

110. Those interested in tracing the development of the institution may well start with Petit-Dutaillis, *op. cit.*, p. 299, and the references given there.

111. Stubbs, *op. cit.*, pp. 167-169; cf. also Petit-Dutaillis, *op. cit.*, pp. 242-245, 308-309.

be heard. The justices and the *Enquêteurs* were substitutes for these courts when it became impossible for the King to attend personally to these matters. In time the reverse method of joining King and people took place, when rather than the King sending *his* representatives out to the people, the people sent *their* representatives to the *Curia Regis*. The one flowed naturally from the other; and it can truly be said that just as the English representational system beginning in 1254 could not have taken place without the old county court as its historic basis, so the growth of the French *Parlement* in the fourteenth century would have been impossible had the people not been accustomed to the liberty of making representations to the King.

The *Enquêteurs* can thus be justly credited with a real and important part in the restoration of the State which is the central fact of the history of France in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries. And of the monks at Saint-Denis, both the more pious and the politically sagacious alike could with conviction chant the antiphon: "He established the throne on justice;" while each, according to his own preference, could admire the sainted King for what he had done. For it was at one and the same time true that a pious monarch, setting out to do justice for the people whom God had entrusted to his care, laid the foundations for a vast and strong kingdom.

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STAGING A TERTIARY

THE life of Catherine of Aragon is essentially dramatic in the sense that drama is conduct in crisis. The crisis through which she passed as the first wife of Henry VIII involved both her private life and the future of the Catholic Church in England. She was not a recluse whose spiritual attainments defy the two-hour traffic of the stage. She was a fighting Tertiary; she tried conscientiously — like a true Franciscan — to fulfil the will of God in the midst of lust, hatred, crimes, ambitions, deceit, and meanness. Her hardy character is embodied in the play *Henry the Eighth*, which is attributed in part to Shakespeare, and also in the historical records on which the play was founded. The play, however, like other Shakespearean plays where religion gives color to the theme, contains no evidence to show that Shakespeare himself was either a Catholic or a Tertiary.

SUPRA MONTEM

It is generally admitted that Catherine was educated by Franciscans at Granada, where the royal family were living shortly after Ferdinand and Isabella drove the Moors from Spain (1492); but it is believed that she was not inducted into the order until after the birth of her daughter Mary in 1516. The Rule of the Third Order which was in force during the life of Catherine was promulgated by Nicholas IV in the papal bull *Supra Montem*, August 17, 1289. This Rule remained in force until 1883, when Leo XIII brought it into accord with modern times.

Sabatier summarizes the contents of *Supra Montem* in three paragraphs:

The great innovation designed by the Third Order was concord; this fraternity was a union of peace, and it brought . . . a new truce of God. Whether the . . . refusal to carry arms was an idea wholly . . . ephemeral, the documents are there to prove. . . .

The second essential obligation of the Brothers of Penitence appears to have been that of reducing their wants so far as possible, and while preserving their fortunes to distribute to the poor . . . the free portion of the revenue after contenting themselves with the strictly necessary.

To do with joy the duties of their calling; to give a holy inspiration to the slightest actions; to find in the infinitely littles of existence, things apparently the most commonplace, parts of a divine work; to keep pure from all debasing interest; to use things as not possessing them . . . ; to close their

hearts to hatred, to open them wide to the poor, the sick, to all abandoned ones, such were the other essential duties of the Brothers and Sisters of Penitence.¹

Fr. Fidentius Van den Borne, O. F. M., in his monograph "Die Anfänge des franziskanischen dritten Ordens," says the numbering of the rules was much changed from the original order and the phraseology (*die sprachliche Ausdrucksweise*) was altered with infinite care, by which the Rule (1221-1228) assumed a different face. The chief difference, however, he says in paralleling *Supra Montem* with the Capistrano Rule (the one found by Sabatier in 1901), "is seen to lie in the numbering of the rules."²

Fr. Marion Habig, O. F. M., writing in *The Third Order Forum* in reference to Van den Borne's study, likewise says: "... *Supra Montem* ... did not contain many and important alterations [from the original Franciscan Third Order Rule]. This Pope [Nicholas IV], the former Franciscan friar and minister general of the Order of Friars Minor, Jerome of Ascoli, merely gave the primitive Rule a more orderly and legal arrangement and made evident the Franciscan spirit embodied in it."³

From data given by Fr. Habig the primitive Rule, which exists in four forms, can be displayed as follows:

<i>Date of Discovery</i>	<i>Caption</i>	<i>MS Title</i>	<i>Year of Issue</i>
1901	C1	Capistrano	1228
1913	K2	Koenigsberg	Before 1228 (C1)
1920	M3	Marano	After 1234
1921	V4	Venice	Before K2 (i. e., ante-dating all other Rules)

The numerical structure of *Supra Montem*, based on an English translation made for the writer by Fr. James Meyer, O. F. M., follows through 20 chapters a scheme of 28 rules that cover 20 activities:

<i>Chapters</i>	<i>Rules</i>	<i>Activities</i>
I	3	(1) Catholicity
II	3	(2) Admittance
III	3	(3) Garments
IV	1	(4) Entertainments

1. Paul Sabatier, *Life of St. Francis of Assisi*, pp. 267-268.

2. Fidentius Van den Borne, O. F. M., "Die Anfänge des franziskanischen dritten Ordens," pp. 151-152.

3. Marion A. Habig, O. F. M., *Third Order Forum*, May, 1931.

<i>Chapters</i>	<i>Rules</i>	<i>Activities</i>
V	3	(5) Fasts and abstinence
VI-XX	15	(6) Confession and Communion, (7) Weapons, (8) Canonical hours, (9) Will, (10) Peace, (11) Persecution, (12) Oaths, (13) Mass and offering, (14) Sickness, (15) Offices, (16) Visitation, (17) Lawsuits, (18) Dispensation, (19) Punishment and expulsion, (20) Infractions
Total	28	

All but 4 of the 28 rules found in *Supra Montem* (i. e., not III, 2, concerning garments for men; V, 3, concerning fasts and abstinences for men; XV, concerning offices of supervisors; XVI, concerning visitations of officers) are applicable to the life of Catherine of Aragon. Arranged alphabetically, the 28 rules are as follows:

<i>Activity</i>	<i>Chapter of the Rule</i>	<i>Activity</i>	<i>Chapter of the Rule</i>
Admittance	II: 1, 2, 3	Mass and offering	XIII
Canonical hours	VIII	Oaths	XII
Catholicity	I: 1, 2, 3	Offices	XV
Confession and Communion	VI	Peace	X
Dispensation	XVIII	Persecution	XI
Entertainments	IV	Punishment and expulsion	XIX
Fasts and abstinence	V: 1, 2, 3	Sickness	XIV
Garments	III: 1, 2, 3	Visitation	XVI
Infractions	XX	Weapons	VII
Lawsuits	XVII	Will	IX

CATHERINE IN HISTORY

Quotations from historical works, some of which are quotations of quotations from originals such as the Papal and Spanish State Papers,⁴ Sander,⁵ Duboys,⁶ and Cavendish,⁷ reveal the Tertiary activities of the queen:

Her early education was entrusted to the Franciscans.⁸

Isabella engaged for her daughters tutors in the classics from among the leading humanists available, first Antonio Geraldini, and then, after the poet's death, his no less learned brother, Alessandro. . . . They [Catherine and her two sisters] were so well grounded in the classics that later all three of

4. W. C. Boswell-Stone, *Shakespeare's Holinshead*, p. viii.

5. Francis B. Steck, O. F. M., *Franciscans and the Protestant Revolution in England*, p. 104.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*, p. 113, n. 25.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 105 (quoting Guerin's *La Palmier Séraphique*).

them were able to reply [to ambassadors] in extempore Latin, fluent, classical, and correct. . . . Probably not even in Italy were there three more carefully educated young ladies.⁹

She [Catherine] desired [after the death of her first Tudor husband, Prince Arthur] to return to her native land and to join the Order of Poor Clares in the convent of Toledo.¹⁰

All the confessors of Catherine of Aragon were Franciscans:

[In 1501] she took a permanent household of some sixty persons . . . [including] Don Alessandro Geraldini, her confessor.¹¹

[Her second confessor was Fray Diego Fernandez], a member of the very order to which she, like her mother, was most attached, the Observant Franciscans. . . . Before long he was the only person in her household on whom Catherine felt she could rely.¹²

One of her early confessors — possibly Alessandro or Diego — was called a fornicator by Henry VIII and sent back to Spain.¹³

[Another confessor of the Queen was] Jorge de Ahequa, Bishop of Llandaff . . . a good, simple, timid soul.¹⁴

St. John Fisher was her confessor in 1529, when she was summoned to Blackfriars in regard to the divorce which was to have such an amazing effect on history. Her last confessor was Bl. John Forest, who in 1538 (a few years after her own death), having endured lengthy persecution, was martyred by being burned to death over a slow fire.

As queen of the amiable young king, she had social obligations of importance, and these royal duties she fulfilled until lechery entered to blight her married happiness.

When they [Henry and Catherine] were married, began the entertainments in which Henry delighted [masques, tournaments, dances], and . . . at the center of the court [at ease] Catherine fulfilled and complemented all the King's taste.¹⁵

As to routine, here is an amazing picture of her energy:

She was wont to rise at midnight and to pray in the church [the Franciscan church adjoining the royal palace in Greenwich] while the friars chanted

9. Garrett Mattingly, *Catherine of Aragon*, p. 12.

10. Francis B. Steck, O. F. M., *op. cit.*, p. 107. Mattingly, *op. cit.*, p. 53, rejects the story, saying it "likely existed only in a seventeenth-century chronicler's mind."

11. Garrett Mattingly, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 111.

13. Francis Hackett, *Henry the Eighth*, p. 47.

14. Garrett Mattingly, *op. cit.*, p. 275.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 133.

Matins and Lauds. At five in the morning, she dressed hurriedly, frequently averring the only time she wasted was that spent in dressing. Beneath her royal robes, she wore the Tertiary habit of St. Francis. Every Friday and Saturday she fasted, while on the vigils of the feasts of the Blessed Virgin she contented herself with bread and water. Twice a week, on Wednesday and Friday, she went to Confession, and received Holy Communion every Sunday. She recited the office of the Blessed Virgin daily, and spent six hours every morning in church. At noon she would read for the space of two hours the lives of the Saints to her servants and attendants. Then she returned to church and remained there till almost supper, of which she partook very sparingly. She prayed on her knees, never using the comfort of a cushion.¹⁶

The heir . . . for Henry was the temporal object of her devotional life. . . . She had had ten years of miscarriages.¹⁷

It was probably about this time [1516 — after the birth of Mary] that she [Catherine] began to wear, under her handsome dresses, the coarse habit of the Third Order of St. Francis.¹⁸

She rendered service to her English subjects with Tertiary zeal. Her first public action was a success, freeing tradesmen from paying one-sixth of property value to liquidate Wolsey's expenses on the Field of Gold. This action is often given as the reason why the commoners of England loved their foreign queen.

The best-grounded tradition of all has it that . . . she . . . saved the 'prentices of London from hanging for their part in the Evil May Day of 1517.¹⁹

Catherine did what she could [for the families which the wool-growers dispossessed to get pasturage for sheep — about five out of every 100 families]. As a member of the third order of Saint Francis she had a special obligation to charity; as Queen she had a duty to the whole people of England. . . . Her worst enemy said that the English poor loved Catherine because she fed them.²⁰

Whatever she did was done consistently and seriously and with a settled purpose, and this . . . the clues [of history] verify.²¹

As to her interest in humanism, it is said that

she contributed to lectureships at Oxford and Cambridge, maintained a number of poor scholars at both universities, and kept herself informed of their progress.²²

16. Francis B. Steck, O. F. M., *op. cit.*, p. 108.

17. Francis Hackett, *op. cit.*, pp. 43, 149.

18. Garrett Mattingly, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 180.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 178.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 181.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 185.

In 1518 she combined a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Frideswide with a tour of the colleges of Oxford, dining at Merton [the college next door to Oriel College, where Newman was later to live, and near the back door to the college that Wolsey built — now Christ Church].²³

John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, . . . sent Catherine word [in 1529] to be of good courage . . . but . . . she hammered out her defense [at Blackfriars] alone.²⁴

In the marginalia of Boswell-Stone's edition of Holinshed,²⁵ Catherine's speech at Blackfriars on July 18, 1529, is summarized.

— I desire you to do me justice. How have I offended you? (1-22)

— I have been a dutiful wife. (23-24)

— We have been married these twenty years. (25-37)

— If there be a real cause for my divorce, I will submit; if not, let me have justice. (37-44)

— Our fathers were wise men, and they deemed our marriage lawful. (44-53)

— I desire respite till I can have counsel from my friends in Spain. (53-56)

— After an exchange of words with Wolsey, Catherine appeals to Rome. (118-121)

Mattingly says of this speech:

The true significance of the trial at Blackfriars is contained in this question: Are there aspects in the life of every person, every layman, over which no lay authority may have final jurisdiction? . . . If not, . . . it is idle to pretend . . . that Christendom exists.²⁶

Later in the year, when the Cardinals Wolsey and Campeius (Campeggio) advised her to consent to the divorce, it became clear to her

that it was not Wolsey she was fighting, nor for peace with her nephew [Charles V], nor even for her own and her daughter's rights that she fought; she was fighting the devil and all his minions for her husband's soul and the souls of all his people.²⁷

During the month of May, 1533, she was residing at Ampthill, six miles from Dunstable where

Cranmer, the newly appointed archbishop of Canterbury, convened an ecclesiastical court . . . [whence she was informed of] the court's decision in favor

23. *Ibid.*, p. 185.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 162.

25. W. C. Boswell-Stone, *op. cit.*, pp. 458 *et seq.*

26. Garrett Mattingly, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 291.

of the king's new marriage. . . . Catherine objected to being styled Princess-Dowager of Wales, affirming that she was the queen and the lawful wife of the king. . . . The matter involved the honor and right of her daughter, which she would defend at all hazards. More than that, the salvation of her own soul was at stake. . . . She took her pen and scratched the words Princess-Dowager wherever they occurred.²⁸

Later she was forced to live at Buckden, a wet and unwholesome English palace.

Like a true child of St. Francis she [there] loved the poor and, as long as circumstances allowed, she assisted them in their needs.²⁹

[She] spent her solitary life in much prayer, great alms and abstinence, . . . [doing needlework with her women] to bestow on some of the churches.³⁰

[Henry, refusing her request to have their ailing daughter near her] was determined . . . that mother and daughter should never meet again in this life.³¹

[When the] queen learned . . . [during 1535 — the year before her death] that Fr. John Forest, her former confessor, . . . would soon be led to execution . . . [she] wrote to him.³²

That this great Tertiary queen was staunch and unyielding in her Catholic faith, these quotations prove:

By the pride and iron of this woman alone, . . . Henry was to learn that he must either give up the divorce or give up the Church.³³

Catherine's strength in refusal grew as things grew tougher.³⁴

[In the fall of 1535 when] Cranmer visited her and in the king's name commanded her to sign the act recognizing Henry's spiritual supremacy over the Church in England, . . . the queen . . . fainted.³⁵

On New Year's day, 1536, Catherine asserted in her last message to Henry that she desired above all things to see him. She died on January 7 following, and "there was hardly anyone who did not firmly believe that she had been poisoned."³⁶

A keen critic of English literature has revealed the obscurity which the writers of English history have thrown around Catherine of Aragon:

28. Francis B. Steck, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 120.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 121 (quoting Miss Strickland, who in turn is quoting Harpsfield).

31. *Ibid.*, p. 126. Actually Catherine and her daughter never saw each other again.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 127.

33. Francis Hackett, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 252.

35. Francis B. Steck, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 132.

Much can be said for Schlegel's statement that the death of Katherine is the true conclusion of this chronicle, important for the ethical point turning upon the victory of Protestantism.³⁷

Catherine of Aragon lived among saints and martyrs. She knew the Charterhouse monks who were martyred on May 4, 1535. In regard to St. John Fisher, sometime Bishop of Rochester, who was beheaded on June 22, 1535, she wrote Henry one of her best letters, declaring that Fisher was enrolled among the number of cardinals that it might be known . . . "that you have slain . . . a cardinal over whom you had no authority."

Another close friend was St. Thomas More, a Tertiary, who was executed on July 6, 1535. Her last confessor, Bl. John Forest, was executed in 1538 — two years after her own death.

Catherine's martyred friends (listed according to their day of martyrdom) were the following:

May 4, 1535: three Carthusians (8 from the Charterhouse);

June 19, 1535: three more monks of the London Charterhouse;

June 22, 1535: John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester (who was 74 years old);

July 6, 1535: Sir Thomas More, the Lord Chancellor;

May 22, 1538: Fr. John Forest (Catherine's last confessor).

History thus presents evidence that Catherine of Aragon was a conscientious Tertiary in all those points of the Rule which applied to her. Above all, her determination to adhere faithfully to Mother Church — manifested especially at Blackfriars and during the years of her persecution — prove her to have been a true daughter of St. Francis, the *Vir Catholicus*.

CATHERINE ON THE STAGE

The play *Henry the Eighth* is based chiefly on material found in Holinshed's *Chronicles*, for which Holinshed drew heavily upon the *Relics of Cardinal Wolsey*, written by George Cavendish, Wolsey's gentleman usher. Boswell-Stone says of the book:

The second edition of Holinshed must have been employed for those parts of *Henry the Eighth* . . . based on Cavendish's *Life* [*sic*] of *Wolsey*,

37. Otis and Needleman, *An Outline History of English Literature*, p. 226.

if the dramatist did not resort to Stow, in whose *Chronicles of England* (1580) selections from this biography were first published.³⁸

The play was given to the public in 1613, ten years after the death of Queen Elizabeth and the accession of James I. This is a point of interest inasmuch as the play contains a prophecy of glories to come to England through the successors of Henry VIII.

Brandes says of the play:

In all probability it was . . . hastily put together for performance at the court gaieties in honor of the Princess Elizabeth's [i. e., James' daughter] marriage [with the Elector-Palatine, the ancestor of William of Orange, who, with Mary Stuart, ascended the throne of England in 1688].³⁹

The Globe Theater burned to the ground the first time the play was presented to the public. According to eyewitnesses, the conflagration occurred shortly after the entrance of the actor who impersonated the masquerading Henry VIII. In line with the stage directions, "many guns were shot off as a salute to the reveling monarch," and this may have caused the fire.

That the play is not the work of Shakespeare exclusively has long been thought. The first to call attention to evidences of collaboration in the writing was Dr. Samuel Johnson, who said in his eighteenth-century way: "Shakespeare comes in and goes out with Catherine." Coleridge called the play a "sort of historical masque or show-play" — i. e., a play not easily classified on the basis of comedy or tragedy. Emerson sensed that differences in the blank verse of the play indicate at least two authors. Furnivall repudiated all parts of the play by writing in the margin of his copy, "Not by Shakespeare"; but the play is generally accepted now as the work of Shakespeare and another dramatist (Fletcher or Massinger).

Hudson says the play contains "three catastrophes, a coronation, and a parade connected with a christening." In the order of their presentation on the stage the three catastrophes are: (1) the fall of Buckingham, caused by Wolsey; (2) and (3) the fall of Wolsey, and of Catherine, caused by Anne Boleyn. The first parade shows Anne being crowned; the second parade shows Elizabeth as an

38. W. C. Boswell-Stone, *op. cit.*, p. x (Introduction).

39. Georg Brandes, *William Shakespeare*, p. 612.

infant, with Cranmer prophesying that God shall be known in the reign of Queen Elizabeth — evidently "propaganda."

Hudson reveals the historical validity with which the portrait of Catherine is drawn in the play:

She maintains the same simple, austere, and solid sweetness of mind and manners through all the changes of fortune. . . . She . . . rises by her humiliation. . . . She is mild, meek, and discreet. . . . The . . . blending of these qualities with her . . . Castilian pride, gives her a peculiar charm. . . . How clear and exact her judgment and discrimination! Yet we scarce know whence it comes, or how. . . . Her only help is in being true to herself. . . . Her betrayers . . . can neither keep from her the secret of their thoughts nor turn her knowledge of it into any blemish of her innocence. . . .

Her . . . sympathy with the plundered people (Act I, Sc. 2), pleading their cause in the face of the royal . . . rapacity . . . in open contrast with the . . . equivocal . . . virtue of her rival and with the . . . selfishness of the king.⁴⁰

Brandes, speaking of the part written by Shakespeare, writes:

[He] has hardly put a word into the mouth of the Queen which may not be found in the Chronicles, but he has created a character of mingled charm and distinction, a union of Castilian pride with extreme simplicity, of inflexible resolution with gentlest resignation, and of a quick temper with a sincere piety, through which the temper sometimes shows. . . . In those scenes in which it has fallen to Fletcher's lot to represent the Queen, he has adhered faithfully to Shakespeare's conception of her, which was virtually that of the Chronicles.⁴¹

As to Cranmer's flattering prediction of the greatness of Queen Elizabeth and King James, Brandes adds:

Shakespeare clearly had no share in that tirade. . . . How many times has the prophecy that under Elizabeth "God shall be known" been quoted in support of the great poet's . . . Protestant convictions! Yet the line was evidently never written by him.⁴²

What might have been Shakespeare's original conception of *Henry the Eighth* was suggested by Spedding in 1850. Hudson states it thus:

He [Shakespeare] . . . conceived the idea of a great historical drama on the subject of Henry VIII, which would have included the divorce of Catherine, the fall of Wolsey, the rise of Cranmer, the coronation of Anne Boleyn, and the final separation of the English and the Roman Church,

40. H. N. Hudson, *Shakespeare's Life, Art, and Criticism*, vol. II, *passim*, pp. 173-79.

41. Georg Brandes, *op. cit.*, p. 613.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 614.

which, being the great historical event of the reign, would naturally be chosen as the focus of poetic interest. . . . We can see the dim outline of the great Shakespearean tragedy, with Henry VIII the tragic hero sliding from Defender of the Faith through acts of gallantry, infidelity, and the ruthless destruction of saints and sacred institutions.⁴³

Five of the eighteen scenes in the play are attributed to Shakespeare (Act I, Scenes 1 and 2; Act II, Scenes 3 and 4; Act III, Scene 2 to the exit of King Henry). Catherine appears in four scenes of the play, not all by Shakespeare, and is mentioned by characters in the play in five other scenes. From these nine scenes, therefore, we must gather the evidence to prove that the dramatists could successfully and faithfully stage a Tertiary.

Decidedly of a Tertiary flavor are some of the words and actions given to Catherine when she appears on the stage. Her first appearance (Act I, Sc. 2 — attributed to Shakespeare) is in the Council Chamber where Buckingham is being tried for treason. There she does three notable things: (1) she pleads in behalf of the tradesmen, whom Cardinal Wolsey is taxing one-sixth of their trade; (2) she asks leniency for the Duke of Buckingham; and (3) she rebukes Wolsey's aide, the Surveyor, for disloyalty to the duke, his former master.

Her second appearance, at Blackfriars at her own trial (Act II, Sc. 4 — attributed to Shakespeare), reveals her conduct in the major crisis of her life. Here, as in the historical records, she speaks and acts in accord with Tertiary ideals: (1) she asks for justice; (2) she wishes to know how she has offended her husband; (3) she asserts that she has been a dutiful wife for twenty years; (4) she is willing to submit if there is a real cause for her divorce; (5) she relies on the judgment of those who arranged her marriage; (6) she begs for time to consult her friends in Spain; and (7) she finally makes her appeal to Rome.

Just how faithful to historical records were the dramatists who put Catherine of Aragon on the stage can be seen in Catherine's great speech at Blackfriars. The words that are italicized in the following quotation from *Henry the Eighth* are the only words added by the dramatist to turn the prose of the *Chronicles* into iambic

43. H. N. Hudson, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

pentameter lines; that is, all unitalicized words and omitted lines came from the *Chronicles*.

Henry the Eighth (Act II, Sc. 4)

Sir, I desire you do me right and justice	13
And <i>to bestow your pity</i> on me; for	14
I am a <i>most</i> poor woman, and a stranger	15
Born out of your dominions, having here	16
No <i>judge</i> indifferent, <i>nor no more</i> assurance	17
Of <i>equal</i> friendship <i>and proceeding</i> . Alas! sir,	18
<i>In</i> what have I offended you? What <i>cause</i>	19
<i>Hath my behaviour given to your</i> displeasure	20
<i>That</i> thus you should <i>proceed</i> to put me off,	21
<i>And take your good grace from me</i> . Heaven witness,	22
I have been to you a true and humble wife,	23
<i>At all times</i> to your will conformable,	24
<i>Ever in fear</i>	25

[Etc. to line 34 except the words "enemy" and "friend."]

<i>Sir, call to mind</i>	34
<i>That</i> I have been your wife, <i>in this</i> obedience,	35
<i>Upward</i> of twenty years, and have <i>been</i> blest	36
<i>With many</i> children by you; if, <i>in the</i> course	37
<i>And process of this time</i> , you can report	38
[Etc. to line 45.]	
The King, your father, was <i>reputed</i> for	45
<i>A prince most prudent</i> , of an excellent	46
<i>And unmatch'd</i> wit and judgment: Ferdinand,	47
My Father, King of Spain, was reckon'd one	48
The wisest Prince that <i>there had</i> reign'd, by many	49
<i>A year</i> before: it is not to be <i>question'd</i>	50
That they had gather'd a wise counsel to them	51
Of every realm, <i>that did debate this</i> business,	52
Who deem'd <i>our</i> marriage lawful. Wherefore I humbly	53
<i>Beseech</i> you, Sir, to spare me till I may	54
<i>Be by my friends in Spain advis'd</i> ; whose counsel	55
<i>I will implore</i> . If not, <i>it's</i> name of God,	56
Your pleasure be fulfil'd!	57

Boswell-Stone throws a vivid light on English history and drama at this point:

This speech was taken by Stow from Cavendish (I, 149-152). . . . We learn . . . from a letter to Campeggio that . . . Catherine interposed a very full appeal and supplication to the Pope and withdrew; but first she knelt there before the seat of judgment, . . . asked permission to write and send messengers to the Emperor and to his Holiness.⁴⁴

44. W. C. Boswell-Stone, *op. cit.*, p. 458.

In the other two scenes of *Henry the Eighth* (Act III, Sc. 1, and Act IV, Sc. 2 — not attributed to Shakespeare) in which Catherine appears on the stage in person, she is characterized with arresting fidelity to historical sources. Hudson has shown that Shakespeare introduces all the important characters of the play in the early scenes, and the collaborator carried out Shakespeare's ideas faithfully.⁴⁵ Here again one finds Catherine expressing herself in words and actions that are according to the Tertiary Rule of St. Francis. In Act III, Sc. 1, she scorns the advice of the cardinals to act contrary to Mother Church and is firm in asserting her rights. In Act IV, Sc. 2, she (1) rebukes a servant for being saucy, (2) stresses charity, (3) avoids malice, (4) speaks justly of her dead enemy Wolsey, and (5) uses her last message to express herself as Henry's dutiful wife, charitable to the day of her death.

In the first of these non-Shakespearean scenes (Act III, Sc. 1) Wolsey and Campeius (Campeggio) visit Catherine at the Bridewell in London. The scene represents the meeting as given by Holinshed. In both accounts the two cardinals come to interview the queen in private; she, however, receives them in her presence chamber, where she is sewing among her women-in-waiting. In both accounts Wolsey says he wishes to speak to her in private and she refuses his request. In chronicle and drama Wolsey then begins to speak to her in Latin, as if to speak over the heads of the women-in-waiting; but Catherine outwits him with these words:

O good my lord, no Latin!

I am not such a truant since my coming,
As not to know the language [of the country] I have lived in.
A strange tongue makes my cause more strange, suspicious.
Pray, speak in English!

In the second of these scenes (Act IV, Sc. 2) the dramatist — who is not Shakespeare — gives the substance of Catherine's last message to Henry VIII. Here again the words of the chronicle are put almost verbatim into measured English. In the play, Griffith says of the dead Cardinal Wolsey:

This cardinal,
Though from a humble stock, undoubtedly
Was fashion'd to much honor from his cradle.

45. H. N. Hudson, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

In Holinshed these words are attributed to Catherine: "This cardinal . . . was a man undoubtedly born to honor. . . ."

What the other characters in the play say of the queen contributes to her portrait as a Tertiary. The dominant note of their references is sympathy. It is not only expressed sincerely by her friends, but also used as a cover for hypocrisy by her enemies. Thus, among many clear expressions of sincere sympathy are the words which the dramatist put upon the lips of Norfolk in Act II, Sc. 2, lines 30-36:

He counsels a divorce; a loss of her
That, like a jewel, has hung twenty years
About his neck, yet never lost her lustre;
Of her that loves him with that excellence
That angels love good men with; even of her
That, when the greatest stroke of fortune falls,
Will bless the king: and is not this course pious?

Mock sympathy with the queen is cleverly used to cover a court intrigue. Henry used it in the long speech he made at Blackfriars after the queen had withdrawn from her trial. Another subtle and insincere use of the same kind of sympathy for Catherine is displayed in Act II, Sc. 3, *passim*, where Anne Boleyn tries to pull the wool over the eyes of an old court hag, as in the opening lines:

. . . Here's the pang that pinches: —
His highness having lived so long with her, and she
So good a lady that no tongue could ever
Pronounce dishonour of her; by my life,
She never knew harm-doing: O! now, after
So many courses of the sun enthron'd . . .
To give her the avaunt! It is a pity
Would move a monster.

SHAKESPEARE'S RELIGION

Readers of a Shakespearean play that presents Catholic characters are confronted with the question: "Was Shakespeare a Catholic?" Carlyle called Shakespeare "the flower of Catholicism." Macaulay avowed that Shakespeare showed "partiality . . . for the Friars." Some of the most interesting and beloved characters that Shakespeare used on the stage were friars (all Franciscan)—Thomas and Peter, as well as the votarist Francisca, in *Measure for Measure*.

ure; Friar Francis in *Much Ado about Nothing*; in *Romeo and Juliet*, Friar John and — most beloved of all the friars in Shakespeare's plays — Friar Laurence. The dramatist created these characters; and a reader asks: "Why did Shakespeare create them?" Perhaps the answer is that the historical plays of Shakespeare present Catholic characters because England was Catholic in the reigns of John, the Richards, and every Henry from Bolingbroke, the usurper, to Henry VIII, the "Defender of the Faith."

Hudson dismisses the whole question of Shakespeare's religion by saying "it may fairly be urged that in all . . . cases they [the dramatists of *Henry the Eighth*] do but make the persons speak characteristically, and without practicing any ventriloquism about them."

In contrast to this, is the suggestion made by Richard Simpson in Bowdin's *The Religion of Shakespeare*. Nobody doubts the Catholicity of Shakespeare's parents and grandparents, for they lived before the great rupture. Undoubtedly (as Bowdin points out) Shakespeare journeyed from Stratford to London and saw many religious ruins near the highway —

the ruin of the Augustinian monastery at Kenilworth, . . . of the Benedictine monks at Coventry, St. Frideswide's priory of the Augustinian friars, six Benedictine monasteries and colleges at Oxford, the Benedictine nunneries at Godstone, Abington, and Wallingford, the Augustinian Canons at Goring and Dorchester; the vast remains of Reading Abbey, the last superior of which, Abbot Cook, had been hanged and martyred at the Abbey gate . . . 1539; the Medenham Abbey of the Augustinian Canons, and the Benedictine nunnery at Marlow, both on the riverside. Again, on the Thames, at Twickenham, of the Brigettine nuns of Sion, and of the Carthusians at Sheen, built by Henry V, as Shakespeare himself tells us, in expiation of his [Henry V's] father's [Bolingbroke's] dethronement of Richard II. . . . The poet knew the origin of the monastic foundations and some of the purposes they served; and the last two named had been restored by Mary, and suppressed only in Elizabeth's time.⁴⁶

This cry of an antiquarian is not easily ignored, but it offers no proof of Shakespeare's religion. As dramatists, neither Shakespeare nor his collaborator needed to reveal their religion in dramatizing the Tertiary actions of Catherine of Aragon. The queen herself needed no poet to embellish her life, for the historical record

46. H. S. Bowdin, *The Religion of Shakespeare*, p. 39.

of her words and deeds shows that she was every inch a queen, every inch a Tertiary in the execution of her intentions and duties.

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SAINTS' LIVES ATTRIBUTED TO NICHOLAS BOZON

THE saints' lives presented in the following pages are found in manuscript Cotton Domitian A XI of the British Museum.¹ They are part of a series of saints' lives in that manuscript, of which the others have already been printed.²

It is believed that these legends are the work of the Franciscan writer, Nicholas Bozon, who lived in the north of England, probably near Nottingham, during the reigns of Edward I and Edward II. The publishing of these legends will make available in printed form the last of the works thus far attributed to Bozon.

Although the writings of this author are not few, he himself is still largely unknown, save for the meager information which is to be gathered concerning him from his works. Unlike many medieval authors, Bozon frequently signed what he wrote. In his works he is referred to as "de ordine minorum,"³ and "de l'ordre de(s) freres menours." Further than that, he is called "ordeynours."⁴ The exact meaning of this term has been discussed by his editors in the hope of finding out what his duties within the order may have been, but so far there is no proof that he held any office in his order. The name is spelled variously Boiun, Bosoun, Boson, Bozon. The form Bozon is that adopted by his first editor, Paul Meyer, and has been accepted by later editors. Bozon is the spelling which occurs in the saints' lives here considered.

1. This ms. has been described by Francisque Michel, *Rapport au Ministre de l'Instruction Publique*, 1838; by L. Karl, *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XXXIV, 1910; and again by Brandin, cf. article referred to below. Paul Meyer calls attention to it in "Le ms. 8336 de la bibliothèque Phillips," *Romania*, XIII, p. 539.

2. L. Karl, "La Vie de Sainte Elisabeth de Hongrie par Nicholas Bozon," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XXXIV. A. J. Denomy, *Old Saints Lives of Saint Agnes*, Cambridge, 1938. L. Brandin, "La Vie de Sainte Agace," in *Mélanges offerts à Émile Picot*, Paris, 1913. "La Vie de Sainte Lucie" was printed in *Sainte Lucie vierge et martyre* by A. Beaugrand, Paris, 1882, in the "annexes," p. lxxviii et seq. It is doubtful that Beaugrand knew from which ms. the verses were copied, for he says that they were sent to him copied from a ms. in the British Museum by a friend. E. Küter in a note (p. 24) of his edition of the sermons of Bozon, *Prädigtmärlein des fr. Nicole Bozon*, 1938, says that these lives were studied in a master's thesis at the University of London, but that they were not printed; unfortunately I have not seen the thesis.

3. So in the rubric of the Gray's Inn ms. 12: "Explicit tabula metaphorum secundum fratrem Nicholaum Bozon de ordine minorum."

4. E. Küter, *op. cit.*, Sister Amalia, O. P., "Nicholas Bozon," *Speculum*, XV, 1940.

It was formerly thought that Bozon was an abbot of Bec — Bozon le Sage, who died in 1136; or possibly a certain Cardinal Bozon, who died in 1181. But — in addition to other evidence against these identifications — the Cotton manuscript in which the saints' lives are found shows that he was not of the twelfth century. The manuscript has been definitely dated as of 1304-05.⁵ Moreover, one of the lives is that of St. Elizabeth of Hungary, who died in 1275. The language, finally, is that of the first half of the fourteenth century. Bozon's name is signed to two of the lives. As we have no manuscripts of his works later than about the middle of the fourteenth century, the presumption is that he was no longer living after that time.

Bozon may have been an Englishman. To this supposition we are led by the quality of his French; for the language is full of Anglicisms. In some of his other writings there are actual textual citations in English.

It is clear from Bozon's other writings that he was fairly learned, though the saints' lives give us little by which to judge his erudition. His works, largely in verse, run the gamut of subjects dear to medieval clerks, from "Woman compared to the Magpie" (which one would like to attribute to his youth), through Procrustean allegory such as "The Chariot of Pride," well-worn "Proverbs of Good Instruction," sermons in verse, "Débats," a treatise on selfishness, to a poem on "The Goodness of Women," and a long collection in prose of exemplary tales which he evidently intended as a handbook for preachers. The chronological order of his writings has not been established. The saints' lives seem, from the lack of metrical skill, to belong to the early period.

Bozon's choice of the women saints whose lives are recounted in this series is probably a reflection of his Franciscan outlook. As a Franciscan he would naturally be most interested in those legends which best exemplified Franciscan teaching. The love of Christ as proved by love of one's fellow-man, the devotion to the Holy Eucharist, the worth of the sermon as a means of salvation, the value of

5. The dates are fixed by Karl in the article referred to above and were accepted by Bozon's editor, J. Vising, *Deux Poèmes de Nicholas Bozon*, Göteborg, 1919.

the active apostolic life — all these features of Franciscanism stand out in the legends Bozon retells. Thus, for example, Martha is represented as reviving a man who had drowned while trying to swim across the river to hear her sermon; and Mary Magdalene is brought the Last Sacraments by heavenly intervention when she is dying in the desert. Bozon makes no attempt at invention; his originality is confined wholly to the selection of the incidents which best point the moral he wishes to teach. He always stresses the great courage and moral vigor of these women, and always points out, too, that they, being women, are remarkable.

There are several evidences that he may have been writing for some Sisterhood. The careful selection of few incidents makes for great simplicity. There are none of the embellishments that sometimes, in the writings of his contemporaries, make it hard to tell a saint's legend from a worldly romance. The fact that Juliana and Margaret of Antioch were much revered in England may have led Bozon to include these saints; but it is perhaps more than an interesting coincidence that the names of the first abbesses of the Minoresses' house in London were Juliana and Margaret, both ladies of high rank, as were the saints themselves.

The text of the manuscript is here reproduced without changing in any way what the scribe wrote, except to expand the abbreviations for *m*, *us*, *er*, *ro*, etc., (indicated in our text by italics) and to distinguish between *u* and *v*. Emendations are not incorporated in the text, but are suggested in the notes at the bottom of the pages, precisely because inconsistencies and errors in spelling reflect interesting changes which were taking place in French as spoken and written in England of the fourteenth century.

In the first half of the fourteenth century French was still the literary language of England, but it is debatable to what extent it was spoken and understood by the common people. Bozon's work throws some light on this question. In his region, at least, French was understood, for he tells us in his *Proverbes de Bon Enseignement* that he had

de latin translate
en comun langage pur amis
ke de clergie ne ount apris.

And in his *Contes moralisés* he mingles French and English, seeming to have composed them not for the aristocracy but for his flock or for use in preaching to the people. In the saints' lives the author says that he has put the legend of Mary Magdalene into "romance" to comfort the repentant. This evidently refers to some group of which he had charge; for, since Latin and French were both spoken in religious communities, Bozon would have been just as likely to write in Latin if he had composed these lives for his confrères. Again we are led to the supposition that he meant them for a Sisterhood.

The characteristics of the language are those of the other works of Bozon. We have a few archaisms. From these, and from the fact that many of the verses could be "corrected" to an older stage of the language were they not brought up to date by the fourteenth-century syntax (such as the addition of pronouns), it seems plausible that Bozon simply rewrote some old legends that were already at hand, revising them to make the language contemporary and to emphasize the lessons he wished to teach, and adding a legend or two to complete the series as he wanted it.

LA VIE LA MARIE MAGDALENE [92R, COL. 2]

Confort est al pecheur		E lautre seure magdaleyne	
De la magdalene ke nostre segnur		Entendit tut a folie veyne	
Tant ama remembrer		Ele out assez a despendre	
E de sa vie bien penser		Ne pechea pas pur loer prendre	
Pur cele ay mis en romance	5	Meis sovent aveynt ke alme blesce	25
Pur conforter repentanz		Grant bealte e grant richesce	
Par cele ke fut pecheresse		Par richesce a grant bealte	
Ke desperance nul quer ne blesce		Se dona le plus a peche	
La magdalene fut apelee		Jeo ne ay pas trove en escrit	
De magdala la sue cite	10	Cum bien durra cel foul delit	30
Dunt dame fut par heritage		Meis bon est de aler a sermon	
Si esteit de grant langage		Dunt vent a plusurs salvacion	
Ele out un frer chivaler		Avint ke ihesus un iour precha	
Ke lazer avez oy nomer		Dunt ele conceut tel dulceur la	
Ne mye ki fut leperous	15	E tele repentance en quer li munt	35
Meis son noun fut lazarus		Kele ne lessa pur nule hunt	
Il ne entendi a autre rien		Ke ele ne vynt veanz tuz	
Fors chivalerie garder bien		A lostel simon le leprous	
E lune sure dame martha [92v,		A tere en genuz la se mist	
col. 1]		A lez pez dulce ihesu crist	40
Tute la meyne governa	20	Ses pez beysa mult dulcement	

E la plurut si tendrement		E de blame la sauva	
Ke des lermes ses pez lava		Son frer mort e ia purri	
E des chevus les sua		Resuscita de mort par li	
Simon pensa sanz rien dire	45	Ki plusurs merveyles a genz cunta	
Si cesti fut un tel sire		Del autre secle quant releva	
Cum lem le teent ne sufreit mye		Tant en amur marie crut	
Une femme de fole vie		Vers ihesu crist ke ele ne fut	
Ses pez tocher cum ceste fet		James a ese si ele ne ust	
Il mest avis ke ceo est mesfet	50	Sa dulce presence ke tant li plust	
Ihesu ki sout bien sa pensee		Pur ceo ke suit de liu en liu	95
Si lad issi areysone		De sa presence pur estre pu	
Del oure ke entray vostre mesun		E meynte fez ele purvit	
Jeo ne trovay ci nul homme		A les disciples ihesu crist	
Ki me donast a mes peez	55	E a li meymes e a les soens	
Euwe freide ne eschaufez		Sustenance de ses biens	100
E ceste femme me ad lave		Kant ihesu mene fut a la mort	
De chaudes lermes aplente ¹		Ele li suyt en tristur fort	
Dunc ieo vus di ky plus ayme		Ha la dolur ke ele mena [93r,	
Plus de lower par reson cleyme	60	col. 1]	
Lors se turna ihesu crist [92v,		Kant vit morir ke tant ama	
col. 2]		Meis de ceo ki ele avait oy	105
A la femme e li dist		Quil releveroit prist confort aly	
Pardonez vus sunt vos pechez		E se mist al aube del iour	
Vostre fey vus ad sauve		Al sepulcre le tierce iour	
Ele sen ala ioyusement	65	Par unt ele a tele grace	
Bien chaunge sudeynement		Ke ele fut la primere ki vit sa	
De tut changea cele vie		face	110
Ke avant out mene en folie		Jeo voile excepter sa dulce mere	
E se dona de quer parfit		Ke li fust de assez plus chere	
De suer e servir ihesu crist	70	La magdalene dunc diseit	
E pur lamur kele out a li		A les disciples ki veu le avait	
De ihesu crist out bon amy		Après la ascensiun nostre sire	115
Avint un iour cum il avint		Tuz les seintes unt grant martire	
Plusurs fez ke ihesus vint		Par iues et paiens ki turmenterent	
Od les deus sures herberger	75	Kanque ihesu crist amerent	
E martha comencea a blamer		Marie et martha unt vendu	
Sa sure marie pur ceo ke siit		Lur heritage pur ihesu	120
Oyer les paroles ihesu crist		Pur sustenir les cristiens	
Par entente ke out desir		De ceo se greverent les paens	
Ke ele ust eyde deservir	80	Dunt il les mistrent en exil ²	
Meis ihesu pur li dunc parla		En une neif sans vitail	
E aliurs sovent plus ke la		Sanz sigle e governayl	125
E vers simon le leprus		A la cite de marsil	
E vers iudas malicius		Sunt arivez sanz peril	
Par tut pur li allegea	85	Ou il ne troverent homme tel	
		Ki lur prestat un hostel	

2. In the ms. there is apparently a line left out between lines 123 and 124.

1. a plente.

En une mesone povre e nue	130	Ke al un e lautre avis fut	175
La compaye fut resceue		Ke la mesun fut alumee	
Ki o marie e od martha		Del regard ke ad garde	
De cristiens sunt venuz la		Coment dit ele <i>vus</i> malurez	
Un iour aparceut la magdalene		De famine perir <i>nus</i> suffrez	
Une mesone pres tute pleyne	135	Jeo ay en ma compaye	180
Des genz mescreanz ki feseient		Hommes e femmes de bone vie	
Honor a maumez en ki creayent		Ki unt defaute de manger	
La magdaleyne se mist la		E de mesun ou herberger	
E noblement les precha		E <i>vus</i> ki servez a sathanas	
De nostre fay la verite	140	Sanz mal ne eschaperez pas	185
Dunt plusurs sunt enmerveyle		Si <i>vus</i> ne aydez as bosingnous	
Ke nule femme sout si parler		Ki avez de biens asez e plus	
Ke ses paroles percerent lur quer		[93v, col. 1]	
Dunt plusurs resceurent devociun		Le prince dunc e sa compaigne	
E de lur trespas contriciun [93r,		Ki vers les autres aveient haygne	
col. 2]	145	De fin pour se leverent	190
Ne fu pas mervaille si bien par-		E de lur biens les donerent	
leit		Les purvirent ou herberger	
Cele bouche ke avant tocheit		E les sustindrent en mester	
Les peiz celi qui est funteyne		Pus vynt le prince en un liu	
De grace e sen tut pleyne		Ou marie precha de ihesu	195
Lors vynt un prince de la tere	150	E priest tesmoigne de seint pere	
Od sa femme pur grace quere		Ke la resone fut bone e clere	
De lur maumez par grant priere		Le prince dunc a marie dit	
Si pussent par els enfant aver		Si par vostre ihesu crist	
La magdaleyne les ad repris		E par <i>vus</i> e vostre fey	200
Ke lur esperance aveient mis	155	A ma compaigne e a mey	
En un trounc sourd e mort		Pusset fere de grace tant	
Ki fere ne put a nul confort		Ke nus ussum un enfant	
Pus apres une nute		Jeo crerey bien vostre dit	
La magdaleyne aparute		E me durrey a ihesu crist	205
En avisiun a cele dame	160	Pur ceo dit ele nert pas lesse	
Si lad dit dame dame		E <i>vus</i> le averez en verite	
Les sergeanz dieu sunt en de-		La dame conceust tost apres	
stresce		E engrossit par tel fes	
E <i>vus</i> avez trop de richesce		Dunc volt le prince a rome aler	210
A vostre baron par mey dirrez		A seint pere od li parler	
Ke il <i>nus</i> ayde ne obliez	165	Sa femme dit ke of li irreyt	
Par ubliance point ne lessa		E il dit ke noun freyt	
Meis a son baron dire ne osa		Pur ceo ke fut en tel estat	
Lautre nute apres suant		Ne voleyt pas ke travaylat	215
Vint magdaleyne cum fit avant		Pur les cheances de la mer	
E autre fez la comanda	170	Meis pur rien ne volt demorer	
Meis ele de pour uncore lessa		Dieu le voleit sanz nule fayle	
Pus apres la tierce nute		Ceo mustra bien par mervayle	
A lun e lautre aparute		Le prince dunc se purvit	220
Od si lusant e ardant vout		De une neif e leynz se mist	

En cele mer sourd tempeste		Vers son pays par mer se mist	
Si trefort ke tuz areste		Aprocher vout la montaygne	
Bien quiderent tuz la mort		Ou iut le cors sa compaygne	
E la dame par descomfort	225	Un enfant vit iuer	
Avant son tens enfanta		Od petites peres de la mer	270
E sanz ayde morut la		Kan lenfant vit cele gent [94r,	
Son baron si grant dol prist		col. 1]	
Ke de li memes force ne fist		Vers mount sen ala sanz atent	
[93v, col. 2]		Desuz la mantele sa mere se mist	
Allas dit il magdaleyne	230	Ou son pere le trove e dit	
Pur quey me estes si vileyne		Ha la dulce magdaleyne	275
A quey venistes en nostre tere		Ke avant apellay la vileyne	
Pur cele grevance a mey fere		Vus avez nurri mon enfant	
Jeo quidey bien ke bon fut		Ore <i>vus</i> pri me facez tant	
Vostre consayl <i>qui</i> me desceut	235	Ke ma compaygne puse aver	
Le mestre dunc de cele neif		De qui le cors git ci enteer	280
Tele pleynt prist a gref		La dame getta un suspir	
Delivrez dit il la neif del cors		E se leva cum de dormir	
Ja sumes par li touz morz		Ou est ore la magdaleyne	
Son baron dunc par prier	240	Ke par montayne e par pleyne	
E par larges dons doner		En chescun liu me ad mene	285
Fist le mestre aprocher		Partut ou <i>vus</i> avez este	
A un montaygne enclos en mer		Meme le iour en chescun liu	
En une cave le cors cocha		Ou <i>vus</i> esteiez ieo i fu	
De son mantel le coverit la	245	E ceo ke peres <i>vus</i> ad cunte	
Entre ses braces mist lenfant		La magdaleyne me ad mustre	290
E se nala od dolor <i>grant</i>		E celes enseignes li ad dit	
A rome vynt e la trova		Ke estre ne put cuntredit	
Le apostle peres e li cunta		Le <i>prince</i> dunc meyntenant	
De cheif en autre tut le cas	250	Od sa femme e son enfeant	
E peres le mist en tel solasce		Par mer se mistrent vers marsil	295
Vus trovez dit il la magdaleyne		A mesone vindrent sanz peril	
En sa parole mult certeyne		Troverent marie en prechant	
A bon oure fustes nee		A tere se mistrent engenuilant	
Ke <i>vus</i> avez od li parle	255	La mercierent de la bonte	
Ne <i>vus</i> dotez de nule rien		E a tut le puple le unt cunte	300
Il <i>vus</i> avendra par li mult bien		Par tant les genz sunt <i>convertuz</i>	
Seint pere le fit demorer		Les uns de iours les autres de nuz	
Deus anz od li enteer		E cels ne lesserent pur nuls mises	
En plusurs lius le amena	260	Partut le pays de fere eglises	
Ou ihesu crist en tere ala		La fut lazer esvesque eslu	305
E la ou ihesu al ciel munta		De tut le puple e si le fu	
E muz de merveyles li cunta		Pus out marie les somons	
E en la fey bien le afferma ³		Ke ele alast od ses compaynons	
A chief de deus anz son conge		A une vile ke est apelle	
prist	265	Aquense la grant cite	310
		Pur <i>convertir</i> la gent la	
		E <i>junt</i> fet cum dieu comanda	

3. A line seems to be omitted between 264 and 265; one is needed for a couplet.

E la fut evesque ordine [94r, col. 2]		De ki ay veu la bele veue [94v, col. 1]	355
Maximium ki fut apelle		Ne despisez ma venue	
La magdaleyne apres cel tens	315	Tele veue ieo ne use veu	
Fist ordiner des cristiens		Si a dieu ust desplu	
Les uns ki saveint sermoner		Dunc li dist la magdaleyne	
Kil entendisent a cel mester		En halte voyce de dulceur pleyne	360
E tute soule se mist avant		Homme dieu ore aprochez	
Ou nul homme fut habitant	320	E sanz veue od mey parlez	
Mult loinz de gent en un desert		Oytes unkes de cele marie	
A grant penance la se aerd		Ke iadis mena si fole vie	
En une roche dure e halte		Hoy fet lautre en seint evangele	365
Ou ele souffrit grant defaute		Ay ieo oy bien de cele	
De chescun solace corporel	325	Jeo la su ceo dit ele	
Meis dieus la enveia solace del ciel		Vers dieu primes mult delele	
Chescun iour deske sa mort		Ore ay demore ci trent anz	
Dieu le enveia tel confort		De fere amendes par penance	370
Ke les angles la leverent		Ou me ad mustre tel amour	
En cors en alme e porterent	330	Kil me ad pu chacun iour	
Si hault en leyr ke ele ad oye		De melodye celestien	
Del ciel la dulce melodye		Ore ne lessez pur nule rien	
Chescun iour fut si portee		Ke <i>vus</i> ne alez a la cite	375
Par les angles e reportee		Ke aquens est apelle	
De ceo resceust ele si grant dul- ceur	335	E dites a maximium ki est en vie	
Ke autre viande nout nute ne iour		Levescque ke dieu le benye	
Trent anz demora en tele vie		Ke a mey vengne sanz targer	
Tut sustenu par melodie		Od le cors dieu ke tant ay cher	380
Avynt issi <i>que</i> un chapeleyn		E ke il me aporte un drap of li	
Qui out la grace dieu a mayn	340	Pur moy coverir ieo le pri	
A douze karanteynes de li		Quant la novele a li vynt	
Prist son recet e dieus a li		Il le fit tut issint	
Un iour mustra la verite		Od prestres e clers est la venu	385
Coment marie fut ci levee		Entre les angles il soul lad veu	
Ou ele descendit bien aparceut	345	Un poy de tere elevee	
Meis il ne saveit ke ele fut		Plus pres aprocher ne fut osee	
Landreit se mist e quant apro- cheit		Pur la beaute ke vit en li	
Le get de une pere ou ele maneit		Cler cum soleil entur midi	390
Pur nule rien nout poer		Lors se turne marie a li	
Plus avant de aprocher	350	Si li dist tut dreit issi	
Lors se mist agenulz		Beal duce pere aprochez	
E tendrement plurut des eouz		De <i>vus</i> estey ieo baptizez	
E en plorant dit issi		Le cors dieu me donez	395
<i>Vus</i> creature ke manez ci		Ke ieo ay tant desirez	
		Lors a tere descendi [94v, col. 2]	
		En genuillant devant li	
		En plurant mult tendrement	
		Resceut dunt le sacrement	400

Al ciel sen va lespir		Sanz confessiun sodeynement	
E del cors ki la remist		Fut occis de male gent	
Si dulce odor est issu		Ses parenz e ses amis	
Ke unkes tel nunt sentu		Le a magdeleyne unt repris	450
E durra bien cel odours	405	Kele souffrit son pelerin	
A cels qui vyndrent par set iours		Sanz confessiun prendre fin	
Kant levesque sen ala		Sur le bere ou fut coche	
Le cors od li amena		Devant els tuz ad prie	
A la cite quest dite aquense		Ke il ut tantost confessiun	455
E lentera od <i>grant</i> reverence	410	Les autres unt merveye de ceo	
E pres de cele magdaleyne		soun	
Ordena son cors demeyne		Loere dieu e la marie	
Après sa morte de gisir		Ke fit al mort cel aye	
E li <i>prodhomme</i> out son desir		Il fu confes e acomune	
Pus avynt keun <i>grant</i> segnour	415	E repentant de son peche	460
Deus cent anz apres cel iour		E sanz plus en vie demorer	
En autre pais une abeye fist		A dieu passa sanz retourner	
Al honur de ihesu crist		Un autre miracle <i>vus</i> dirray	
Par celi sire e par le abbe		Ke en latin trove ay	
Un moygne delenz fu mande	420	Une neif tut pleyn de genz	465
A la cite ou ele jut		Furent periz par grant venz	
Denporter les os sil put		Meis une femme ke fut enceynte	
Le moigne e sa compagnie		E de les undes ia tute ateynte	
Troverent ke la payenerie		Fist tel vou al magdaleyne	
Aveint destut la cite	425	Si a tere put venir seyne	470
Ou ele fut entere		Ke son enfant li durreit	
Il aveint pour de aprocher		Pur li servir e dunc veneit	
Le seintim cors denporter		Une dame meyntenant	
La magdaleyne une nute		Mult tres bele e avenant	
En avisiun le aparute	430	Par le menton si lad pris	475
E li dit quil aprochast		E salvement a tere mis	
E son cors delluc portast		Le femme pus tynt covenant	
Le cors unt pris e returnez		A la dame de son enfant	
Sont vers mesone mult heytez		Moygne le fist en cele abeye	
A demy lue de lur mesun	435	Pur li servir tute sa vye	480
En contre els vynt processiun		Ne my soul a li mes a plusurs	
Or <i>grant</i> honur lunt resceu		[95r, col. 2]	
E enterre en noble liu		La magdaleyne ad fet sucours	
En ciliacense en cele abeye [95r,		Si ieo meyse en cest escrit	
col. 1]		Chescun miracle ke le latin dit	
Vers ou plusurs funt lur veye	440	Par long demure en lisant	485
Pur aver ayde par cele seinte		Les perceouses serreient trop pe-	
E dieu lad fet a meynt e meynte		sant	
Entre les autres un chivaler		Kar les perceouses bien se avisent	
En pelrinage soleit aler		Cum bien dure avant ke lisent	
Chescun an de custoume	445	Sil est court il unt delit	
Avynt issi ke cel homme		Sil est long lunt en despit	490

E lisent tut par fin enu
 E perdent louer de grant vertu
 Meis ieo pri marie la dulce
 Ke sa bonte point me grouce
 De ayder bozun en son mester 495
 Ki sa vie voutl translater
 Ke gent la pussent plus amer
 E del lire merit aver

Pur cels qui de quer oyerunt
 Ceste vie ou la lirrunt 500
 Jeo pri la dulce magdeleyne
 Ke salvez seient de enferral
 peyne
 E a la ioye pussent venir
 Ou les seintes unt lur desir.
 amen.

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LOCAL ATTITUDES TOWARD A CATHOLIC COLLEGE

IN VIEW of the fact that Quincy College is one of the oldest educational institutions in the State of Illinois, and the further fact that it is the only college in the city, and finally, that it has numerous alumni, it would appear to be a fair assumption that local residents should be familiar with the school, its curricula, its faculty, its affiliation with educational standardizing and accrediting agencies, and other matters of similar import. During the 1943 summer school session at Quincy College, the Seminar in Sociology set itself to testing the validity of such an assumption, by eliciting an expression of local knowledge and attitudes of Quincyans regarding Quincy College.

The tool employed was the schedule: a battery of nineteen questions on fundamental points of information about the College, and fifty-two questions designed to reveal the attitudes of people toward the College. Each member of the Seminar assumed, as it were, the rôle of an inquiring reporter, and the prepared questions were administered to some four hundred persons. The composite result of the study fulfilled the purpose for which it was intended, incorporating answers of people from all walks of life and from all parts of the city and of the surrounding county.

Although the questions in the Knowledge Section were clear points of information, those in the Attitude Section carried the suggestion of a negative character. Some persons answering them caught what they conceived to be a spirit of implied criticism and found it easier to express their negative attitudes toward the College; others resisted the invitation to give negative replies, while still others were aroused by what they called the prejudicial tone that they thought the questions conveyed. To some the questions appeared repetitious; to others the questions seemed adequate to reveal their attitudes; while for still others the questions created attitudes they did not have or were not aware of having. Substantially, however, the Attitude questions proved satisfactory in revealing what those contacted thought of the College.

Despite the fact that many of the schedules were not administered by the students of the Seminar, but were answered in their

absence, there is still a great deal of validity to the summary of the totals. Even the phenomenon of one or the other Quincyan answering several sets of questions does not entirely invalidate the answers given. It was assumed that these persons recorded what they honestly thought to be others' attitudes. Many people, it was found, did not give their own attitudes, but those they thought others have. This constitutes valid data, because a study of attitudes is not necessarily a study of objective reality. And attitudes, whether founded or not, have much to do with behavior and conduct.

The choice of Quincyans approached for expressions was random. As it turned out, representatives of every occupation, of every social class, age level, religious affiliation, and degree of education were contacted. In other words, there was a fair approximation to the sample. These varied categories of occupation, social class, age, religion, and education were not scientifically established or defined. The students of the Seminar assumed them to be as represented. Interhuman relations, as influenced by attitudes, are directed as much by what people think they are, as by what they are objectively. Lack of time prevented the students of the Seminar from making the most of what they discovered about social class in Quincy.

It is not so much the totaling of the answers that tells the final story, as the summary impressions derived by the students of the Seminar. Many remarks were made that were not recorded, questions were asked on the side, and, most important of all, the spirit of willingness, or of unwillingness, or of indifference betrayed by those questioned did more to reveal the true attitudes of those contacted than would a statistical compilation of individual replies to specific questions that were asked. Of the four hundred sets of questions given out, three hundred thirty-six came back in time to be included in the summary totals — a high percentage.

Although the students of the Seminar were cautioned to be merely recorders of attitudes, and were rigidly controlled when they reported the attitudes they found, it was at times difficult for them to remain passively impersonal and detached about some of the attitudes encountered. Attitudes in certain quarters had so little foundation in fact to justify them, that it took a real effort to restrain the students from rejecting such "obviously unfounded answers."

On the basis of this study, the students of the Seminar formulated the following broad conclusions:

(1) The residents of the county are, for the most part, positive in their attitude toward Quincy College. They place a real value on college education for its own sake. If more of them do not go to Quincy College, it is only because circumstances prevent them from doing so. They look upon Quincy College as peculiarly their educational institution. This holds for non-Catholics as well as for Catholics.

(2) As might be expected, the study revealed that there are some people in the city whose attitude toward the College is definitely negative. Prescinding from this category, there is a large number whose opinions are definitely colored by the technological demands made upon modern society. They ask that education, especially higher education, help them in their efforts to make a comfortable, remunerative living. These want technical rather than cultural courses of study. Younger people, too, expressed a preference for such courses; they "felt" that subjects in the liberal arts were not necessary to them for securing and meriting promotion in the majority of jobs and positions open to them in Quincy. A thoroughly rounded out course in domestic science for the women students and an adequate physical science department for the men students would be welcome additions to the available curricula. The biological sciences and the social studies seem to meet the needs of Quincyans interested in those subjects. Coexisting with the general sentiments of the people of Quincy toward Quincy College, there is a tremendous reservoir of untapped good will toward the school.

(3) Although relatively few of those contacted revealed that they are opposed to Quincy College, the students got the definite impression that those in this category are representative of others who are so minded, and that this group is important in setting the pace and direction of social approbation and rejection. This impression is real and persistent, but proofs for the "feeling" are too elusive and fluid.

(4) Contrary to an opinion occasionally heard, there is, for the most part, no objection to priests of a religious order teaching at Quincy College. However, there is a great deal of reserve toward these friar-priests. Non-Catholic prospective students are timid

about approaching the teachers at the College, and most of the non-Catholic adults are on the defensive because of the priest-teacher situation. Nevertheless, there is no positive objection to the faculty personnel, which, by the way, includes in its number laymen and laywomen. In the light of the findings of the study, there are evidences that the friar-priest-teacher has not done enough, as far as the general public is concerned, to put that public at ease. Most Quincyans would welcome a more positive initiative on the part of the faculty as far as the College is concerned — and only where the College is concerned.

With these general remarks and summary conclusions as an interpretative background, the study itself with its answers is presented.

THE KNOWLEDGE AND THE ATTITUDES OF SOME QUINCYANS REGARDING QUINCY COLLEGE

KNOWLEDGE

1. *Do you know where Quincy College is?* Yes — 332; No — 4.
2. *Do you know who teach there?* Yes — 247; No — 89.
3. *Do you know any student of Quincy College?* Yes — 291; No — 45.
- Relative? Yes — 78; No — 258.
4. *Do you know that boys and girls go to Quincy College?* Yes — 329; No — 7.
5. *Do you know that Protestants as well as Catholics attend Quincy College?* Yes — 327; No — 9.
6. *Do you know that the priests at Quincy College are Franciscan friars, like St. Francis of Assisi, St. Anthony of Padua, Junipero Serra?* Yes — 288; No — 81.
7. *Do you know that Quincy College has been in existence since 1861?* Yes — 168; No — 168.
8. *Is Quincy College a college like Culver Stockton, Knox College, Illinois College?* Yes — 256. *Or a special kind of college, like a seminary?* Yes — 80.
9. *Do you know that Quincy College had students from places outside of Quincy?* Yes — 325; No — 11.
10. *Do you know any of the teachers (priest, layman, laywoman) at Quincy College?* Yes — 231; No — 105.
11. *Did you attend Quincy College?* Yes — 73; No — 263.
12. *Do you know that Quincy College conducts late afternoon, evening, and Saturday classes?* Yes — 277; No — 59.
13. *Do you know that students at Quincy College range from 17 to 64 years of age?* Yes — 219; No — 117.
14. *Do you know that Negro students have attended and may attend Quincy College?* Yes — 195; No — 141.
15. *Do you know whether Quincy College is tax-supported?* It is — 13; It is not — 270; Don't know — 53.

16. Do you know that Quincy College conducts a summer session? Yes — 313; No — 23.

17. Do you know that Quincy College faculty is trained to teach in any recognized college? Yes — 289; No — 47.

18. Do you know that Quincy College is a recognized four-year college? Yes — 300; No — 36.

19. Do you know that less than half of Quincy's high school graduates attend Quincy College, and that more than half go elsewhere for college? Yes — 207; No — 129.

ATTITUDES

1. Should Quincy have a college? Yes — 332; No — 4.

2. Should Quincy have more than one college? Yes — 90; No — 246.

3. Do you like the name "Quincy College"? Yes — 311; No — 25.

4. Do you think more Quincyans would go to Quincy College if laymen and laywomen taught there instead of priests? Yes — 106; No — 230.

5. Would you advise a student to attend Quincy College? Yes — 292; No — 44.

6. Do you like the idea of priests teaching at Quincy College? Yes — 259; No — 77.

7. Do you think of the Franciscans at Quincy College as college teachers or as priests? Teachers — 149; Priests — 112; Both — 75.

8. Do you think they teach their college subjects or do you suspect that they bring religious topics up in their classes? Subjects — 264; Religious Topics — 41; Don't know — 31.

9. Have you ever had one of the Franciscans in your home? Yes — 117; No — 219. Would you? Yes — 267; No — 69.

10. Would Quincy be just as well off without Quincy College? Yes — 18; No — 318.

11. Have you ever met and spoken to one of Quincy College's teachers? Yes — 238; No — 98.

12. Do you think he should teach Quincy's boys and girls? Yes — 279; No — 48; Don't know — 9.

13. Do you think Quincy College serves the interests of Quincy? Yes — 295; No — 29; Don't know — 2.

14. Do you think it means anything to a boy or girl to be in attendance at Quincy College? Yes — 309; No — 23; Don't know — 4.

15. Do you think a student should boast of his attendance at Quincy College? Yes — 235; No — 74; Don't know — 19.

16. Do you think that only those go to Quincy College who cannot afford to go to another college? Yes — 40; No — 290; Don't know — 6.

17. Would you rather see the Quincy Board of Education have its own tax-supported Junior College or College? Yes — 37; No — 243; Don't know — 23.

18. If you knew that one of the Quincy College teachers were to speak over the radio, would you listen to him? Yes — 282; No — 38; Don't know — 16.

19. Are you interested in attending Quincy College's programs? Yes — 249; No — 87.

20. *Do you think the Quincy College Town and Campus Club is worth attending?* Yes — 217; No — 65; Never heard of it — 54.

21. *Do you think Quincy people care whether Quincy College stays open?* Yes — 275; No — 61.

22. *Would it make any difference to you if Quincy College closed?* Yes — 261; No — 75.

23. *Do you think Quincy College teachers are interested in Quincy?* Yes — 308; No — 24; Don't know — 4.

24. *Do you regard Quincy College teachers as educational leaders?* Yes — 318; No — 18.

25. *If a student could afford to go elsewhere to college, should he or she go to Quincy College?* Yes — 246; No — 66; It depends — 40.

26. *In your opinion, is there anyone on the Quincy College faculty that should not be there, for the good of the school?* Yes — 28; No — 266; Don't know — 42. *How many?* all — 1; three — 2; two — 3; one — 22.

27. *In as far as you know, is Quincy College spoken of with respect, or with ridicule?* Don't know — 8; Ridicule — 14; Respect — 314; Both — 2.

28. *Do you think students have to work hard at Quincy College, or can they get by?* Work hard — 296; Get by — 14; Don't know — 26.

29. *Does the faculty at Quincy College seem to know how to run a college?* Yes — 298; No — 20; Don't know — 38.

30. *Do you think the teachers at Quincy College are snobbish?* Yes — 12; No — 272; Don't know — 42.

31. *If you have been at Quincy College (for any reason at all), were you embarrassed by anyone or by conditions there?* Yes — 5; No — 288; Never there — 48.

32. *Have you ever wondered what goes on at Quincy College?* Yes — 130; No — 206.

33. *Do you think Quincy College is "small time stuff"?* Yes — 30; No — 292; Don't know — 14.

34. *Do you think Quincy College should continue to operate with comparatively few students?* Yes — 233; No — 103.

35. *Would Quincy College have more students if the priests did not wear their habits?* Yes — 87; No — 217; Don't know — 32.

36. *Do you think Quincyans snub Quincy College?* Yes — 47; No — 260; Don't know — 29.

37. *Do you include Quincy College when you speak of the advantages of Quincy?* Yes — 306; No — 30.

38. *Do you think Quincy College is reasonably up-to-date in its equipment?* Yes — 256; No — 80. *Teaching methods?* Yes — 304; No — 32. *Subjects?* Yes — 309; No — 25.

39. *Should Quincy College have a band like that of Quincy Senior High?* Yes — 268; No — 68.

40. *Should Quincy College be more in the limelight?* Yes — 301; Don't know — 19. *Or, is it too much for its own good?* Yes — 16.

41. *Would a good sports' program have helped Quincy College?* Yes — 267; No — 51; Don't know — 18.

42. Do you think Quincy people agree with the Quincy College faculty on what education should be? Yes — 211; No — 66; Don't know — 59.
43. Do you think Quincy College tries hard enough to be a college for Quincy? Yes — 267; No — 41; Don't know — 28.
44. Do you think Quincyans think of Quincy College as "their college"? Yes — 214; No — 93; Don't know — 29.
45. Do you think Quincy College has done Quincy any good? Yes — 323; No — 13.
46. If Quincy College were not in existence, would Quincy have built a college for itself? Yes — 72; No — 195; Don't know — 69.
47. Do you think there are some Quincyans who "have it in for" Quincy College? Yes — 131; No — 164; Don't know — 41.
48. Do you think the policies of Quincy College are drawn up for the best interests of Quincy youth? Yes — 279; No — 28; Don't know — 29.
49. In your opinion does Quincy College have a mediocre or a well-trained faculty? Mediocre — 12; Well-trained — 291; Don't know — 33.
50. Is this the first time you have given Quincy College so much thought? Yes — 198; No — 138.
51. Do you think these questions are sufficient to reveal what Quincyans think of Quincy College? Yes — 289; No — 47.
52. Do you think the Quincy College faculty is sensitive to what Quincyans think of Quincy College? Yes — 217; No — 119.

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FRANCISCANA

Mediaeval Studies, 1939-1943

It is quite inevitable that any periodical devoted to the Middle Ages should contain much of interest for Franciscan scholars. Thus it happens that in the first five volumes (1939-1943) of *Mediaeval Studies*, an annual published by the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto, a great deal of Franciscan history has either been treated at length or given some attention. With the kind permission of the Secretary of the Institute, we propose to summarize briefly the *Franciscana* of the volumes referred to, as well as to mention other articles that yield a picture of the background for some Franciscan subjects.

The opening article of volume I (1939) is from the able pen of Professor E. Gilson. Entitled "Franz Brentano's Interpretation of Mediaeval Philosophy" (pp. 1-10), it does not treat *ex-professo* of any Franciscan topic; yet it does give a clue to some modern interpretations of Duns Scotus and William of Ockham as signs of the decadence of Scholasticism. Franz Brentano, while still within the pale of the Church (therefore before 1873), had constructed for himself an interpretation of the rise and fall of philosophy through the centuries: the law of the four phases. This he applied to mediaeval philosophy — to set up St. Thomas as the first stage, that of "purely disinterested and speculative interest for intellectual knowledge"; Duns Scotus as a second phase ("the first step toward decay"), with emphasis "on essentially practical interests," and the triumph of the Franciscan Order and School; thirdly, Ockham as representative of the scepticism of the next step in the decline; and lastly, mysticism as the final refuge, with Ramón Lull, Meister Eckhardt, and others. Granted that there is much good in Brentano's interpretations, in many instances he is forcing facts into a Procrustean mold to fit his theory. To what extent Brentano influenced later historians of philosophy in their interpretations of the Franciscan School, Professor Gilson does not consider. Perhaps Brentano himself was influenced by current estimates and prejudices on the two Franciscan Scholastics.

Volume II (1940) contains two articles of interest, one directly on Franciscan liturgical history, the other supplying background for much Franciscan psychology. Father J. T. Muckle's critical edition of "The treatise *De anima* of Dominicus Gundissalinus" (pp. 23-103) is a welcome piece of work, since through the twelfth-century Spaniard much of Avicenna's doctrine on the soul passed into the Parisian and Franciscan tradition, particularly the two-fold definition of the soul: essentially a spiritual substance, accidentally the form of the body (cf. *Franciscan Studies*, XXIII (1942), p. 418, note 35, for some discussion on this point). No one can undertake a study of Franciscan psychology, e. g., in John de Rupella, St. Bonaventure, Roger Bacon, etc., without reckoning with Gundissalinus as a background and source.

Of a specifically Franciscan nature is "The Franciscan *Ordo Missae* in the Thirteenth Century," by V. L. Kennedy, C. S. B., (pp. 204-222). It is an established fact that the Mass-book of the Friars, the *Ordo missalis Fratrum minorum secundum consuetudinem curiae romanae*, was widely used through-

out Europe in the late Middle Ages and served as the basis for the *Missale Romanum* of Pope St. Pius V (1570). The history of this book up to the year 1260, however, presents several problems which Father Kennedy undertakes to answer. We are far from certain, he says, of the identity of the person or persons who adapted the service-books of Rome to the needs of the Franciscans. The names of Haymo of Faversham, Minister General from 1240 to 1244, and Bl. John of Parma who held the same office 1247-1257, are frequently mentioned in this connection. On the authority of the late Father Jerome Golubovich, O. F. M., (*Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, III [1910], pp. 55-81), the former is usually credited with the treatise *Indutus planeta*, a little book of directions for Mass according to the Roman rite; and to Bl. John of Parma is attributed the *Ordinationes divini officii*, otherwise known as the *Caerimoniale vetustissimum*, for conventual service of both Office and Mass (text in *A. F. H.*, *loc. cit.*). However, while there is no internal evidence against Haymo's composition of the original *Ordo missalis Fratrum Minorum* (Kennedy, p. 205; p. 217), the prevailing attributions mentioned are no longer tenable. The *Indutus planeta* quotes the *Ordinationes*, which is therefore the earlier document. Father Kennedy thinks that both should be dated from the generalate of St. Bonaventure, the *Ordinationes* being prescribed by the Chapter of Pisa (1263), and the *Indutus planeta* by that of Paris (1266).

In connection with these researches, Father Kennedy edits (pp. 211-217) the *Ordo Missae* as found in the Franciscan missals of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries — a most interesting document, which would be all the more intriguing were we able to compare it with some non-Franciscan and non-Roman Mass-books of the same period. Lastly, the article contains (pp. 217-222) a new and critical edition of the *Indutus planeta* or *Ordo agendorum et dicendorum a sacerdote in missa juxta consuetudinem ecclesiae romanae*. (Cf. also "Franciscans and the Missal," in *Franciscan Herald and Forum*, XX (1941), 173-175). In the light of Father Kennedy's conclusions, some corrections will be required in the *Franciscan Educational Conference Report*, XXI (1939), p. 21, where the *Ordinationes* is ascribed to John of Parma; and p. 32, where Haymo and John are both credited with the works already mentioned. While research has adduced evidence to offset the claim that these two friars were the authors of these two documents, their work on the early Franciscan liturgical books is still deserving of praise. The primitive form of the Franciscan *Ordo missae* is still associated with Haymo, and Bl. John is recognized as having effected general conformity within the order.

In this survey of *Mediaeval Studies* must be included an article in volume III (1941) by L. E. Lynch, Ph. D., S. M. L., "The doctrine of Divine Ideas and Illumination in Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln" (pp. 161-173). Characterized by Matthew Paris, a contemporary chronicler, as "presbyterorum director, clericorum instructor, scolarium sustentator," Robert, though not a friar, had a great influence on the formation of the Franciscan School at Oxford. It is not hard to suppose, despite lack of certainty on the chronological order of his works, that much of the doctrine included in this study was familiar matter to the Oxford Grayfriars at whose convent Grosseteste taught

(1224-1232?). Roger Bacon, for one, does not hesitate to acknowledge the influence of this learned man. Doctor Lynch's essay, may it be said, is not easy reading, being rather closely reasoned and somewhat sparing in textual quotation. Finding that Grosseteste posits a parallelism between the order of knowing and the order of being, the author has first to study much of Grosseteste's metaphysics of light before he can swing into his subject proper. Suffice it to say that there are elements in Grosseteste's theory on the connection between the divine ideas and the Augustinian theory of illumination that strongly suggest the doctrine of Duns Scotus. (Compare, for example, the doctrine of Grosseteste as expressed by Lynch, p. 171, with that of Duns Scotus in *Opus Oxoniense*, I, d. 3, q. 4, a. 5, n. 18, ed. Garcia, I, p. 376). In both Scholastics the truth is in the created thing and *known* by knowing the created thing because of the intelligible being bestowed on it by the light of Divine Truth. John Duns Scotus, then, perhaps owes some of his doctrine to Robert.

Volume IV (1942) is especially interesting, as it contains more articles of Franciscan interest than does any of its predecessors. No less than three deal directly with Franciscan topics, while some others provide historical background or *milieu* for certain Franciscan writers or doctrines.

In volume III (1941), pp. 15-45, Professor G. B. Ladner, Ph. D., had undertaken a study of the origin of the square nimbus or halo as found in early Christian and mediaeval iconography. Toward the conclusion of the article (p. 43), he had occasion to mention the hexagonal nimbi adorning the virtues in the allegorical frescoes of the lower church of San Francisco in Assisi. At the time, Doctor Ladner was unable to discover definitely the historical origin of the six-sided halo, though he suspected a distinctly Franciscan tradition because of the use St. Bonaventure made of the number six. In the present volume he furnishes "An Additional Note on Hexagonal Nimbi" (pp. 82-84) to substantiate his opinion that this device was a distinctly Franciscan invention, a thesis confirmed by the fact that in the fourteenth century it occurs only in Franciscan churches with but one exception. Besides St. Bonaventure, St. Anselm is advanced as a source for the number six as a signifying moral perfection and possession of all the virtues. (To this might be added the *Salutatio virtutum* of St. Francis himself, in which he hails as sisters: *Sapientia, pura simplicitas, sancta paupertas, humilitas, caritas, obedientia* [cf. *Opuscula S. P. Francisci*, ed. Quaracchi, 1904, pp. 20-21]). However, the possible sources adduced by Doctor Ladner (nor the instance of St. Francis) do not explain sufficiently why eight virtues in the three allegorical frescoes of Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience are given six-sided haloes, Charity a round one with a crown and Obedience a square nimbus. There are thus *ten* virtues in all the three frescoes: in that on Poverty *Paupertas, Caritas, Spes*; on Chastity *Castitas, Munditia, Fortitudo, Poenitentia*; on Obedience *Obedientia, Prudentia, Humilitas* (cf. Beda Kleinschmidt, O. F. M., *Die Basilika San Francesco in Assisi*, Band II, pp. 177 *et seq.*). Furthermore, examination of St. Bonaventure's use of numbers in respect to virtues and perfection shows that he connects the number seven and, more so, the number ten with perfection even more than the number six. For example, "[Numerus] in quo est perfectio et status . . . est . . . denarius.

... Perfectio maxima in denario consistit." (*II Sent.*, d. 9, art. un., q. 1, f. 3, tom. II, p. 253a; resp., *ibid.*, p. 254b; cf. also *IV Sent.*, d. 1, p. 2, a. 2, q. 3, IV, p. 35b. On the number seven, cf. *IV Sent.*, d. 40, dub. 1, IV, 853b, and the accompanying references to St. Augustine.)

Of interest for the history of Franciscan philosophy is an article from the pen of Dom Maur Burbach, O. S. B., M. A., S. M. L., "Early Dominican and Franciscan Legislation Regarding Saint Thomas" (pp. 139-158). In this Dom Maur examines the regulations and decrees of the general chapters of the two mendicant orders prior to the canonization of St. Thomas Aquinas in 1323. It is only natural to expect that the Dominican legislation would be more extensive and therefore the subject of lengthier treatment. In the texts culled from the various chapters there can be noted an increasing ascendancy of the authority of Friar Thomas within the Order of Preachers until the chapter of 1286 enjoined that each and every Friar Preacher devote himself effectively to the study, promotion, and defense of the doctrine of the Angel of the Schools. (Incidentally, according to the interpretations of Brentano, would not this legislation constitute the beginning of a decadence?) Dom Maur finds the *raison d'être* of this legislation to be not so much any great opposition to St. Thomas within the order, but an increasing opposition from without, particularly in Franciscan circles: two condemnations (1284 and 1286) on the part of John Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury, and a decree of the general chapter of Strassburg, 1282. At this chapter the decision was reached: "Minister generalis imponit ministris provincialibus, quod non permittant multiplicari Summam fratris Thomae, nisi apud lectores rationabiliter intelligentes, et hoc non nisi cum declarationibus fratris Wilhelmi de Mara, non in marginibus positis sed in quaternis; et huiusmodi declarationes non scribantur per aliquem saecularem" (Burbach, p. 147, n. 46; cf. *A. F. H.*, XXVI (1933), 139). This must not be construed as an official condemnation of the works of St. Thomas, but as a prohibition against the unrestricted use of the *Summa theologiae*. Moreover, this seems to be the only chapter that took such action. (In this connection the judgment might be ventured that the Franciscan Order stands in need of a work that would embody all the *Acta*, statutes, decrees, etc., of the various general chapters of the thirteenth century. Those edited and published to date are scattered throughout various learned periodicals which are often difficult of access. The Friars Preacher, on the other hand, possess a critical edition of their *Acta* from 1220 to 1378.)

Thirdly, the librarian of the Institute, R. J. Scollard, C. S. B., has compiled "A list of Photographic Reproductions of Mediaeval Manuscripts in the Library of the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies" (pp. 126-138), among which are included copies of the works of several Franciscan authors. The purpose of the list is not only to make known the source-material of mediaeval works in the possession of the Institute, but also, when possible, to make positive reprints available to scholars on this continent. Outstanding in the collection is the number of works of William of Ockham, as well as of several earlier Franciscan teachers, William of Ware, Richard of Meneville, Odo Rigaldus, etc. In all, it contains at least 95 Franciscan manuscripts (this number includes various mss. of the same work: e. g.,

Ockham's *Summa totius logicae* is present in some 20 or more mss.). Some of the Franciscan liturgical manuscripts, i. e., from the thirteenth-century missals, were used in the critical texts contained in the article of Father Kennedy already referred to.

Lastly, there are two articles in volume IV of some help for Franciscan philosophy. The first, by Imelda Choquette, on "Voluntas, affectio and potestas in the Liber de voluntate of Saint Anselm" (pp. 61-81), provides a certain amount of background for the doctrine of the will in both St. Bonaventure and Duns Scotus. According to Dr. Jean Rohmer, St. Bonaventure manifests a great amount of originality in reconciling St. Anselm on moral rectitude and the *liberum arbitrium* with Aristotle's teaching on the will; and Duns Scotus follows close upon his footsteps (cf. *La finalité morale chez les théologiens de saint Augustin à Duns Scot* (Etudes de philosophie médiévale, XXVIII) (Paris, 1939), pp. 195 and 234).

The second, "The Philosophy of Nicholas of Autrecourt and his Appraisal of Aristotle" (pp. 97-125), by J. R. O'Donnell, C. S. B., places this late Scholastic in the anti-Aristotelian trend of the late thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries, with Peter John Olivi, Durandus, Petrus Aureoli, etc. The author's judgment on Ockhamism (pp. 98-99), we leave to others to discuss.

In the last volume to date (volume V, 1943), the one article of specifically Franciscan bearing is Fr. Scollard's continuation (pp. 51-74) of the list of mediaeval manuscripts of which the Institute possesses photographic reproductions. The previous list (in volume IV) had been drawn up according to libraries; the new listing is according to authors or reputed authors, no attempt being made to settle questions of authenticity of attribution. We are now able to see more clearly what works are attributed to Friars Minor; the number, not of manuscripts but of individual works in various manuscripts, amounts to something like 166 (including at times several copies of the same work), with possibly more among unidentified pieces. Considerable further study and research would be required to establish authenticity of some manuscripts or works attributed to Franciscans. Some are manifestly authentic, e. g., all assigned to Cardinal Matthew of Aquasparta, since they are either autographs or copies (apographs). On the other hand, others are open to question, e. g., some of those attributed to William of Melitona, which are not acknowledged among his extant works as listed by E. Longpré, O. F. M., in the article "Meliton (Guillaume de)," *D. T. C.*, X, col. 540. The *De anima* of B. N. latin 16585, is certainly not the work of Alexander of Alexandria, but of a fifteenth century anonymous friar.

IGNATIUS BRADY, O. F. M.

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Father Marcellus Manzo, O. F. M. Cap., Ph. D., who recently published *San Francesco Ti Chiama*, has continued to exhort the Tertiaries to follow the seraphic way of life in another booklet of thirty-two pages, *Scegliendo la*

Via Serafica. Contrary to common usage, this booklet has a durable cloth binding. The author shows in simple and appealing words that the rule of the Third Order is a "small" way of following St. Francis to the Savior.

The November (1943) issue of *Round Table of Franciscan Research* carries articles entitled "Early Capuchin Convents," "Reform Movement in the Province of the Marches," and "Duns Scotus Today." It also has a symposium on the Seraphic Doctor's doctrine on Mary's universal mediation. It notes that the library of St. Anthony's Friary, Marathon, Wis., has received from Sir John Craig an original letter of Father Theobald Mathew, O. F. M. Cap., dated Cork, March 3, 1843. The clerics, who publish this periodical, also state that they have completed a cumulative index of the first six volumes of the *Cowl*, and that they will gladly send a copy to those who ask for it.

In bulletin 2 (December, 1943), the clerics of St. Anthony's Friary, Marathon, Wis., report that their Marathon Correspondence Course has had 297 correspondents in this first year of existence. Of these 28 are known to have embraced the faith. Contact was lost with some on account of changes necessitated by the war conditions, while others were temporarily prevented from entering the Church on account of varying circumstances. Some of the correspondents were Catholics who desired a deeper knowledge of their faith. After the fundamental instructions on the Catholic faith, the clerics try to follow up their course with instructions on the Third Order.

A few years ago the Capuchin Province of St. Joseph inaugurated a scholastic council to promote and unify the educational endeavors of the province. Last summer at a meeting in the Friary of the Immaculate Conception, Garrison, N. Y., the council members drew up a constitution. It provides that the council shall consist of a chairman and two representatives from each of the four provincial houses of study. The director of each institution is an *ipso facto* member of the council, while the other member is elected by the respective faculty. The chairman is appointed for a term of three years by the provincial definitorium at the time of the provincial chapter. The secretary is chosen by the provincial definitorium from one of the two branch secretariates. Although the Father Provincial is the president of the council, the chairman presides at all meetings, even in the presence of the president. Meetings are held once each year. To provide continuity, the eastern and the western members of the council meet separately at least three times a year and interchange minutes of the proceedings. Each branch has its own chairman and secretary, elected by the respective council members. These branch councils discuss educational matters of the province, and present their proposals to the provincial definitorium for final decision. Every second year the council arranges for a meeting of all the educators in the province. "Educating for Preaching" is the topic chosen for the next general meeting, which is expected to convene at the Friary of St. Anthony, Marathon, Wis., in the course of next summer.

THEODORE ROEMER, O. F. M. CAP.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Principles for Peace. Selections from Papal Documents, Leo XIII to Pius XII.

Edited for the Bishops' Committee on the Pope's Peace Points by the Reverend Harry C. Koenig, S. T. D. (Washington, D. C.: National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1943; distributed by Bruce Publishing Company, Milwaukee, Wis. Pp. xxv+894. \$7.50.)

Principles for Peace is a felicitous compilation of the papal pronouncements on peace by the Pontiffs Leo XIII, Pius X, Benedict XV, Pius XI, Pius XII, and some similar pronouncements by their Cardinal Secretaries of State. Archbishop Stritch of Chicago prefaces the book with appropriate and discerning remarks, while the editor contributes a lengthy introductory explanation. The body of the text contains 47 pronouncements by Leo XIII, 12 by Pius X, 152 by Benedict XV, 102 by Pius XI, 137 by Pius XII. Each section is preceded by a short sketch on the life of the respective Pontiff. Although most of the texts have been taken from previous translations, of unequal value, almost one-third of them have been translated specifically for this book from most of the languages of Europe.

In his preface Archbishop Stritch summarizes the plan of the book as follows: "Pope Pius XII on Christmas Eve offered to the nations his Five-Point Peace Plan. This plan delineates in broad outline a good peace. . . . It calls back to the many Statements of the Popes on peace for a proper interpretation. . . . When the Pope's Peace Plan is read and studied in the light of these Statements, it is clear that it offers to statesmen a safe guide in formulating the peace in justice and charity which we are demanding as the fruits of our victory."

The editor declares that the aim of the book is, "to harvest the accumulated wisdom of these past sixty-five years during which each of the five popes was deeply concerned with the problem of peace; to make the riches of that wisdom available to the English-speaking world; to reveal to all men the incalculable help the popes can offer in the making of a lasting peace." He also remarks that "most of the documents are given only in part, since the complete text would require a book of unmanageable proportions."

There can be no doubt that this compilation of papal pronouncements is timely and that it answers a need of all students of the peace problem. It might become a source of invaluable information for all statesmen concerned with the formation of peace plans. Therefore we must be grateful to the episcopal committee that conceived the idea of having these documents published.

We owe thanks to the editor, who has given us such a thorough selection of papal peace pronouncements. He has performed a prodigious task. His elaborate index of sixty-seven pages makes reference to the texts comparatively easy—an important matter because the texts will be consulted as needed. The selection of texts is his own and may meet with some criticism, but the present reviewer feels that he has done complete justice to the task set. Franciscans will be pleased to find passages referring to St. Francis and his Third Order. Some might be inclined to demand even more, but they

will agree with the impartiality and good judgment generally shown by the editor.

This compilation can be highly recommended to all who are genuinely interested in a lasting peace, for "the reader who tempts to draw the plan of a good peace without consideration of the moral realities which are treated in this volume, has not a right understanding of the nature and substance of a good peace." The book again proves that the Roman Pontiffs are faithful representatives of the Prince of Peace.

THEODORE ROEMER, O. F. M. CAP.

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The True Life, Sociology of the Supernatural. By Luigi Sturzo. (Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press; Paterson, N. J.: St. Anthony Guild Press, 1943. Pp. 312. \$3.00.)

Don Sturzo's latest work will not generally be accepted as of sociological significance by the highpriests of American Sociology. Except by such men as Sorokin and the few Christian and Catholic thinkers in the craft, *The True Life* will probably be relegated to scientific oblivion — on the ground that it betrays an *a priori* theological fixation, and hence is scientifically inhibiting. To those who seek genuinely realistic approaches to the study of society it will, however, be a godsend.

Sociology as "the study of society in the concrete" must analyze and synthesize all elements of social living. With that premise most sociologists will agree. But their concurrence is based on their peculiar connotation of the term "concrete." For Sturzo "society in the concrete" embraces the living community of persons acting, reacting, and interacting on and with one another, and undergoing conditioning from material and spiritual forces of whatever provenance. The author sees human life, and hence social life, thoroughly compenetrated with the divine. To study social relationships and processes, he points out, one must recognize the subject — man in his social environment — as tied to God, as being turned and led by God, Whose magnetism most insistently attracts and affects mankind's direction.

Taking this realistic stand, Father Sturzo traces a broad pattern of social behavior trailing from the dim past to the present historic moment, and through it all he points out the finalism of a divine plan. Consciously or not, all men (whether as individuals, groups, associations, nations or civilizations) who press on after the true and the good are in reality seeking the fulfillment and enrichment of their finite selves in God. They seek the true life. There has been no moment of history but when the supernatural and the natural interweave.

The first social beings were placed on a supernatural plane, and mankind was restored to that level by the Incarnate God, Christ, the Firstborn and Climax of creation. From Christ the cosmos takes on its meaning. Christianity is a natively conditioning factor of society, for man, originally endowed with grace and later forfeiting that higher life, has been immersed in an historic struggle to regain communion with God. It is a social factor, *the* social force.

The author has little patience with the materialists who painstakingly refuse the finalistic curve delineating the historic process of all peoples and civilizations. Such direction to the movements of society cannot be laid to any immanent or deterministic monism (as Hegel, Marx, and Spengler would have it) whether idealistic or materialistic; this direction unreels psychologically from the common human striving for satisfaction in truth and goodness, metaphysically from the creational connection between man's personality and his proper object, whether God Himself or His works.

Different races God has used as His tools in the long history of civilizational and cultural change, e. g., Jews, Egyptians, Greeks, Latins. Nations have destinies as vessels of honor or vessels of divine wrath. Though the groups, tribes, and nations assume the aspect of collectivities manipulated instrumentally by God, the real activating forces are the individuals who respond to their vocation. Society is the matrix, as well as the touchstone, designed by God as the proper culture to develop personality and attain vocation. Sanctification, the final subjective aim, is attached to a social scheme which is nothing else than communion with God and solidarity with man, all mankind.

Don Sturzo divides his work roughly into two broad sections: the first part dealing with God's objective plan for society. In this section he treats such topics as the Supernatural, Vocation, Predestination, Communion, Mystical Union, the Glory of God. In the second part which carries headings such as Evil, the World, the Incarnation in History, etc., one is given a point of vantage from which to view the factual, historic realization of the divine plan. Throughout there run deep currents of matured thinking that will recall, and often synthesize, the ideas of men like St. Augustine, Dawson, Berdyaev, Sorokin, Noyes — particularly in the last grandly apocalyptic chapter. Sturzo writes with breadth of vision, handling deepest dogma intimately, and showing by his easy application of profound truth to social life that he has meditated long and well on life and its ingredients. He has given spiritual content to all the great forces that underlie and stir individuals, and through them, society. He exhibits a close familiarity with Sacred Scripture and draws from it striking, refreshing applications.

One will take on stature mentally and spiritually by a careful reading of *The True Life*. Whether one views this profound work as Catholic Social Philosophy, a Philosophy of Sociology, or simply a Philosophy of History, one must see that it will render a needed service to Catholics and to all men of good will engaged in the field of Sociology. It is not a book to run through quickly; yet it is not laborious. It presupposes background.

ROBERT WILKEN, O. F. M.

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The Social Message of Jesus. By Iginio Giordani. Translated by Alba I. Zizzamia, D. Litt. (Rom.) (Paterson, N. J.: St. Anthony Guild Press, 1943. Pp. xiv+406.)

The present volume is the first in a series of three dealing with the social history of early Christianity. It is to be followed by translations of *The*

Social Message of the Apostles, and *The Social Message of the Early Church Fathers*. Professor Giordani, who has had a long and successful career as a teacher, journalist, and writer, is at present associated with the Vatican Library. For the *Social Message of Jesus* and the *Social Message of the Apostles*, Mr. Giordani received the *Premio Savoia-Brabante* for excellence in the field of history. With regard to this award the Vatican newspaper, *L'Osservatore Romano* (February 27-28, 1939), says: "These two works, which complement each other, together evidence the loftiness of the theme and the author's skill in overcoming its inherent difficulties. They indeed represent a weighty contribution to social and historical research with regard to early Christianity, based as they are on a wide knowledge and understanding of the field, such as we might expect of one who for long years has dedicated himself to these studies . . . examining with patient research (as his careful bibliography attests) the sources available in this field . . . of every nation and time."

The book is divided into twelve chapters, plus an introduction, conclusion, bibliography and index. All the important phases of social life in Christ's time, and their historical background, are aptly portrayed. The titles themselves of the various chapters, "The New Order," "The Human Family," "The Economic Problem," "The Christian Family," "Labor," "Health," etc., testify to the incalculable value of the book. Christ's outlook on the social problems of His day, and His divine teachings pertaining to them, have naturally formed the basis of the historical development of the Church in society. Giordani has brought out this doctrinal background, both forcefully and beautifully.

The text is supplemented by pertinent footnotes and source quotations. The translator too has done an excellent job and deserves to be complimented for having made available Professor Giordani's work for the English-speaking public. The reviewer suggests that in future the new, now quite generally accepted, English translation of the New Testament be used. This reviewer also suggests that, in a note at least, Louis Duchesne's work, *Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise*, quoted on page 383, be designated as on the *Index* (Decree of January 22, 1912). The same would apply by the general ruling of the Sacred Congregation of the Inquisition to all other books written by non-Catholic authors and treating of matters theological and Biblical. A note, or *N. B.*, to that effect would be a sufficient warning to the unwary Catholic student, scholar, or reader to obtain the necessary ecclesiastical permission for reading or using these books.

Giordani's work is otherwise a distinct contribution to Catholic thought. It has been highly rated by scholars and professors at the Catholic University of America and elsewhere, and deserves a wide circulation. The reviewer hopes that Miss Zizzamia will soon be able to give us the other two works by the same author dealing with the social thought of the Apostles and early Fathers of the Church. America can use such timely studies by prominent Catholic laymen. What excellent gifts, too, for our well-meaning non-Catholic Protestant and Jewish friends and acquaintances!

RAPHAEL M. HUBER, O. F. M. CONV.

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The Morality of Imperfections (Thomistic Studies, No. 1). By James C. Osbourn, O. P. (Washington, D. C.: Pontifical Faculty of Theology, Dominican House of Studies, 1943. Pp. xiii+247. \$2.75.)

This work is the first of a projected series of theological studies which have for their purpose "a revitalization of the spirit and precious heritage of Catholic theology as faithfully transmitted by St. Thomas Aquinas from the Fathers of the Church to his successors." In the common opinion of modern moral theologians that there are positive moral imperfections — actions which are imperfect but not sinful — the author sees a departure from the spirit of Catholic theology as handed down by St. Thomas. It is his purpose, therefore, to vindicate the true Thomistic doctrine.

There are two phases in the analysis: the historical, which shows how the affirmative viewpoint arose; and the doctrinal, which presents the position of St. Thomas. Father Osbourn cites the writers who proposed this distinction between sin and moral imperfection and handed it down to the authors of the present day. The defenders of the negative viewpoint admit no difference between sin and deliberate moral imperfection. In favor of the negative position are the prominent Masters of the spiritual life.

In the doctrinal part, the author shows how Cajetan, by extending the term *precept* to slight transgressions, occasioned the misinterpretations of St. Thomas by later authors. For the Angelic Doctor, precepts impose a grave obligation with reference to some good necessary for salvation; and the counsels, which envisage the better good, manifest the will of God in reference to useful goods by which the end may be attained more perfectly. Although counsels do not bind gravely, they are not entirely devoid of binding force.

In the concrete order of actual choice to be made between alternate goods, the principle of finality demands that the intellect and will, acting conjointly as practical reason, act prudently for the end. When various alternatives are presented, the will always chooses the really or apparently better good. If it selects a lesser good, it is out of conformity with the law of finality, and to that extent lacks moral goodness. Such an imperfection, St. Thomas teaches, is sinful. From the analysis, therefore, of the proper mode of human volition, it follows that the better good which is more conducive to the ultimate end cannot be rejected without imprudence and without stain of guilt.

The same conclusion flows from an investigation of St. Thomas' doctrine regarding Christian perfection. Under the precept of love, the summit and perfection of charity is universally commanded as a goal toward which we must tend by positive efforts of actual striving. St. Thomas teaches we are obliged to do as much good as we possibly can. Since the positive moral imperfection wilfully declines opportunities of advancement in charity, it deliberately rejects the better good. Such a retardation in charity St. Thomas distinctly labels venial sin.

Throughout his learned study, Father Osbourn manifests a thorough acquaintance with his subject matter. The historical sections are well documented; the doctrinal section abounds in references. In presenting the position of his Preceptor, the author is at his best. The explanation of the act

of choice is especially well done. By championing a viewpoint not commonly held, the author is casting down the gauntlet. Though few may be ready to do battle, all who read *The Morality of Imperfections* will be stimulated both to theoretical and practical reflections. The new Thomistic series has made an excellent beginning.

BASIL HEISER, O. F. M. CONV.

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Thomistic Principles in a Catholic School. By Theodore Brauer and others. (St. Louis, Mo.: Herder Book Co., 1943. Pp. x+321. \$2.50.)

Several professors of the College of St. Thomas in St. Paul have contributed to this book. They intend "to demonstrate, out of their specific academic spheres, that their teaching can be attached to the one and selfsame doctrine of St. Thomas." Fully aware of the confusion and chaos in education, and tired of shallow discussions on educational matters which are usually either without any result or confined to technical details, the contributors have found their common basis in the teachings of St. Thomas. Hence their "purpose is to show that at least the Catholic college, by seasonably using St. Thomas' doctrine, should be able to prepare and utilize a common basis not only of discussions but likewise of instruction, training, and education up from the simpler to the highest subjects." Justly, therefore, we can call this book a manifesto which commands our respect and our admiration for its courage and consequence.

The contributors acknowledge that they will not discuss all the various aspects of the question in extension and detail. They only intend to draw attention to the basic place of Thomism in different branches of learning and to the proper connection between Thomism and modern teaching. This is certainly, even in its limited scope, a great task and one worthy of every effort. The results of these efforts are laid down in the following chapters: 1. "St. Thomas in the Curriculum" (by James H. Moynihan); 2. "St. Thomas on Study" (by R. A. Kocourek); 3. "Religion and the Research of First Principles" (by Theodore Brauer); 4. "Thomism and Modern Philosophy" (by Theodore Brauer); 5. "The Importance of Teleology" (by Theodore Brauer); 6. "Economic Thought in St. Thomas" (by Theodore Brauer); 7. "Person and Society according to St. Thomas" (by Franz Mueller); 8. "St. Thomas and Political Science" (by Charles McCoy); 9. "St. Thomas and the Development of Modern Science" (by John Giesen).

The present reviewer limits himself to some reflections on the book as a whole and on some details. The book is animated by a spirit of exclusive Thomism. One wonders what the term "seasonable Thomism" may mean; at least it is not defined and therefore not open to discussion. One wonders, furthermore, what the basic principles of Thomism really are. Are they identical with those principles without which Catholicism or Christianity would cease to have a rational basis and would thereby be reduced to a voluntary belief and not a "rationabile obsequium"? The contributors certainly take Thomism in the strict sense of the teaching of St. Thomas and certain of his followers — in other words, as the teaching of a school. Their

Thomistic principles are not accepted *in toto* by all Catholics (even if we except the Franciscan school); in fact they are not accepted by all so-called Thomists either. Would it not be better to emphasize rather the "Catholic principles" which can largely be identified with the teachings of St. Thomas and his followers, and with the teachings of the other scholastics and Christian philosophers as well? The really basic principles of Christian philosophy — which can stand the test of any criticism from within and from without — make us certain of that firm and solid ground on which any Catholic education worthy of the name has to be built.

As to details, we will mention only a few (though many more could be noted) which are more or less questionable. Because the contributors have to a large extent used books written on St. Thomas' teachings, they have repeated some errors. We are at a loss, for instance, to understand the following statement: "He [St. Thomas] was the first Christian philosopher to insist on the complete antonomy of both faith and reason, each in its own sphere, and to carry this principle to its logical conclusion" (p. 5). Does this mean that St. Thomas is the champion of a philosophy divorced from faith? Certainly not. Does it mean that St. Thomas was the first who wrote a philosophical work? That would be an historical error. And one must remember that St. Thomas never wrote a "philosophy" that his philosophy has to be taken almost entirely from his theological works (the *Summa contra Gentiles* included, for that is a theological work). This is true for almost all Scholastics, with few exceptions. Does it mean that St. Thomas was the first Christian theologian who knew the difference between reason and faith, philosophy and theology, their different basis, method, certitude, and aim? Thomas was not the first, for this distinction was well known and applied earlier, for instance in the oldest part of the *Summa Theologica* of Alexander of Hales. Mandonnet, who insisted so strenuously, at the expense of other Scholastics, that Aquinas was the first to discover an "autonomous philosophy," was not guided by St. Thomas' traditional teaching but by an immoderate desire to prove St. Thomas' "modernity." But fortunately this idea of "autonomy," nursed by the period of rationalism and liberalism, is fading.

The expression: "But when Thomas came, it was as when the sun comes — all the lesser lights were dimmed" (p. 13), may be beautiful poetry; but it has unfortunately no historical truth. We noted with much surprise that "first principles or ultimates . . . are synonymous with God," an expression which even Ockham, in spite of his insistence on the absolute simplicity of God in regard to all attributes, would have denied. St. Thomas has a much better and more modern definition of truth than is suggested on p. 49 (which seems to be un-Scholastic) or on p. 71 ("adequatio rei et intellectus," which goes back to Averroes); even Father I. M. Bochenski, O. P., who refers to *Summa Theol.* I, q. 13, a. 12, has to confess that this remarkable theory on truth does not exist any more in our textbooks.

With a slight shock, we noted some very un-Thomistic and un-Scholastic expressions concerning the philosophical method. We are told that the philosopher's method is inductive (p. 60), and that philosophic speculation in St. Thomas "always proceeded inductively" (p. 65); but we have to recon-

cile with this the contradictory statement: "There is no denying the fact that in Thomism there is a preponderance of the deductive method" (p. 106). It seems that the author of these statements wanders too far from the spirit of St. Thomas and of all the Scholastics in favoring an inductive metaphysics, which means the ruin of any certitude in metaphysics and the subordination of metaphysics to the sciences. There are some very vague statements on p. 104, which emphasize this inductive metaphysics still more. Scholastics must never forget that "demonstratio quia" (or *a posteriori*) and "inductio" and "inductive method" are decidedly different forms of scientific method.

Finally, it should be mentioned that the last chapter on St. Thomas and the development of modern science is particularly blind to the historical development of the sciences, and Duhem's research is completely overlooked. The remarks on Albert the Great are interesting, but he is certainly not a representative of Thomism; for in his psychology he is more of a Platonist than any of the so-called Augustinians.

This critical comment is not intended, however, to deny that the book has real merits. Several times the authors point out the necessity of progress and the fault of the past for having rested solely on what was inherited. There can be no doubt that the broad outlines of a *philosophia perennis* are well established, but they need constant overhauling in contact with modern thought. St. Thomas certainly commands our admiration for having done precisely this in his own time.

PHILOTHEUS BOEHNER, O. F. M.

St. Bonaventure College,
St. Bonaventure, N. Y.

How to Think. By Arthur D. Fearon, Ph. D. (San Francisco, Cal.: College Publishing Company, 1943. Pp. 194. Paper, \$1.50; cloth, \$2.00.)

The chief value of this book lies in the emphasis it places on Logic as an art, as opposed to Logic as a science. We agree with the author that "too much emphasis cannot be put on the necessity of cultivating the art of correct thinking which is applied logic. . . . Logic, as usually taught in college, is the science, but not the art of Logic. The student is usually left to himself to apply as best he may the rules of thinking learned in the science of logic" (p. 4). One cannot help recalling the old scholastic division of logic into *Logica docens* and *Logica utens*, which, for all practical purposes, seems to be so largely forgotten in our modern neo-Scholastic textbooks. (Cf., for example, the first question of Scotus' *Super Universalia Porphyrii*, viz., *Utrum logica sit scientia?*, and the long commentary by Father Mauritius Hibernicus [Vivès ed., tom. 1, pp. 50 *et seq.*]). Either consciously or unconsciously, Dr. Fearon has been influenced by this traditional idea, and has done teachers of logic a real service in recalling this distinction to mind.

Obviously, it would be an injustice to judge this little handbook on the assumption that it is meant to be a text-book of formal logic. For nothing is further from the author's intention. He explicitly states that he "shall write a very incomplete book on logic." His purpose is "to stress the important points" and to help his readers to "acquire ease in applying the rules

of thinking" (p. 6). To achieve this end, Dr. Fearon has devoted about half the book to topics not usually associated with logic as such. There are sections on "How to Analyse," "How to Associate," "How to Memorize," "How to Succeed." The section entitled "How to Reason" devotes 56 pages to logic properly so-called (Propositions and Syllogisms) and 48 pages to what is called "Skills for Good Reasoning" (How to test a syllogism to see whether it is good or bad reasoning; How to examine each word for its meaning, etc.). The practical angle, as is to be expected, is emphasized throughout and the importance of doing many exercises is consistently reiterated. Specimen examples of such exercises accompany each new topic dealt with, but unfortunately they are not of uniform value.

There is an interesting summary of rules relative to the discipline of efficient study on pp. 67-71. Similar summaries, in fact, are a welcome feature of the whole book. Quite apart from them, however, the author tends to be rather repetitious — a fault which may be excused on the assumption that the book is not intended as a text for class-use, but rather as a vehicle for private study; and by the fact that it is professedly addressed to high-school students and college freshmen in particular, though it is intended "for all intelligent persons over fourteen" (p. 1).

Occasionally the style lapses into a display of benevolent paternalism, but it is usually clear and very readable. We were a trifle shocked at the unnecessary statement in the Introduction: "I shall even sacrifice accuracy to facility of expression and simplicity" (p. 6), but were relieved to find only one outstanding example of this principle put into practice — viz., in the definition of the syllogism on p. 75.

While bigger and better books have been written about each of Dr. Fearon's five sections, we feel that he has presented a representative summary of the main points, and has fashioned a very useful little manual for students who are anxious to synthesize and apply the mass of information gleaned from many passive curricular courses. *How to Think* can be recommended to even professors of logic in our seminaries as a directive for a course that might profitably supplement or precede the usual courses in formal logic.

SEBASTIAN DAY, O. F. M.

St. Bonaventure College,
St. Bonaventure, N. Y.

Education at the Crossroads. By Jacques Maritain. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1943. Pp. x+120. \$2.00.)

This volume comprises the Terry Lectures delivered at Yale University in 1943. Though the lectures were certainly never meant to be popular, the subject matter is most timely and up-to-date. As might be expected from Maritain the philosopher, the treatment is comprehensive and thorough; and no course in education can afford to neglect this little volume.

In truly philosophical style, Maritain goes right to the root of matters. Since "the chief task of education is above all to *shape man*," the author shows how the aims, the technique, and the matter of education depend upon the true nature of man. He corrects the misconceptions regarding man's nature

which have led to false educational theories and practices; outlines the ideal curriculum; lays down the fundamental dispositions and norms which must guide both pupil and teacher; discusses the whole process of a liberal education from the kindergarten to the university; and finally reviews the trials of present-day education and the tasks it will face in the post-war world.

Stressing, throughout, man's spiritual nature, the philosopher never loses sight of the fact that man's is still a fallen and weakened nature, and that education's task of freeing man's inner spirit is beset with many obstacles and pitfalls. "In the education of the mind the emphasis should be shifted from that which is *pressure* . . . to that which awakens and frees the aspirations of spiritual nature in us. Thus creative imagination, and the very life of the intellect, would not be sacrificed to cramming memorization or to the conventional rules of skill in making use of concepts or words, or to the honest and conscientious but mechanical and hopeless cultivation of over-specialized fields of learning. . . . The purpose of elementary and higher education is not to make of the youth a truly wise man, but to equip his mind with an ordered knowledge which will enable him to advance towards wisdom in his manhood. . . . What is learned should never be passively or mechanically received, as dead information which weighs down and dulls the mind. It must rather be actively transformed by understanding into the very life of the mind, and thus strengthen the latter, as wood thrown into the fire and transformed into flame makes the fire stronger. But a big mass of damp wood thrown into the fire only puts it out."

Such random bits offer but a glimpse of Maritain's penetrating mind at work, adducing principles, offering norms, drawing conclusions and supporting the ordered framework of his thesis by a wealth of fact and illustration. We educators who have had our trials amidst the shifting sands of modern education with its materialistic and technological outlook, its premature specialization, its elective system, the statistical headaches of its credit system, its fads and frills and experimentation, give thanks to God for men of common sense and courage like Maritain and Dr. Robert Hutchins. With such men blazing the trail back towards the sound base of Scholasticism, there is some hope that education in America may take the right turn at the cross-roads. If Doctor Hutchins is correct in saying that "our university graduates have far more information and far less understanding than in the colonial period," we have every need to turn from our present path. Only by so doing can we hope to "maintain the essentials of humanistic education and to adapt them to the present requirements of the common good," which Maritain sets as the task of education in the post-war world.

Maritain is not a pessimist nor a *laudator temporis acti*. He recognizes much that is good in our progressive education; he sees much hope for the future. There is no castigation or name-calling, but a calm impartial weighing of values, unhesitating correction and recommendation. The volume's immense value is diminished only by the absence of a comprehensive index. There is an index of proper names.

VICTOR GREEN, O. F. M. CAP.

St. Fidelis Seminary,
Herman, Penna.

St. John Capistran, Reformer. By Rev. John Hofer. Translated by Rev. Patrick Cummins, O. S. B. (St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder Book Co., 1943. Pp. viii + 411. \$4.00.)

When the long-awaited life of St. John Capistran by the learned Redemptorist, Father John Hofer, came out in 1936, reviewers paid just tributes to its worth. Only a student who had devoted long years of effort as Hofer had — many preparatory studies appeared in *Franziskanische Studien* and elsewhere — could produce a life of the many-sided Capistran with such authority, completeness, and balance. It gave not only a comprehensive picture of the sainted Franciscan, but proved highly useful for a knowledge of the contemporary papacy, the Observant movement, devotion to the Holy Name of Jesus, Hussites and Utraquism — to mention only some of the points it illuminated.

The duty before us is, therefore, not to repeat the evaluations of Hofer's magnificent work, but to examine the English translation of the original German edition. To put it briefly, there are considerable differences between the former and the latter. First of all, the book shrinks from the 695-paged original to 411 pages in the translation. The greatest part of the shrinkage is due to the omission of the hundreds of Hofer's copious footnotes; also wanting are the lists of manuscript sources and of the literature; likewise missing is the author's treatise on the sources in the German edition, (pp. 7-38). The translator's preface prepares us for most of these omissions by saying (p. iii): "The translation retains only such notes as may interest the general reader." (There are twenty-three short explanatory notes in the English translation.)

Regarding the method of translating employed, the translator says: "Substantial identity with the original has been my aim. Some unimportant details I have omitted. And I have simplified the author's stylistic diffusiveness" (p. iii). It may be remarked, too, that the original fifteen chapters have been divided to make forty-two in the translation, grouped in six parts. In general, the translation is notable for its readability; frequently it shows an ability to put the original into modern English, terse and forceful, that is nothing short of genius. Naturally, a number of slips, inaccuracies, and debatable renditions have crept in, all of which it would be impossible to indicate. From the first two chapters (corresponding to the first chapter of the original), the following are examples: *sechs Jahre* (p. 59) is erroneously given as "eight years" (p. 3); *Söldner* (pp. 39, 52) denotes more than mere "soldiers" (pp. 3, 12); *nicht nur in den Kreisen der Gebildeten, sondern selbst beim gewöhnlichen Volke* (p. 49) is rendered "both by nobles and by commons" (p. 9); *Da an der Vicaria vor allem politische Prozesse abgehandelt wurden* (p. 52) is translated "since here the highest political offenses were tried" (p. 11); in the original the battle of Roccasecca is correctly dated May 19, 1411 (p. 53), in the translation, May 11, 1411 (p. 12); *Neapel stieg unter Ladislaus zur unbestrittenen Vormacht Italiens empor* (p. 53) is very faultily given as "Under this . . . monarch Naples became the leading city of Italy" (p. 12), when the kingdom of Naples is meant; *Haupthaar . . . schön gekräuselt und mit Goldfäden gebunden* (p. 57) be-

comes "curly hair, which waved over his shoulders like fine threads of gold" (p. 14). All of these are admittedly nonessential and do not detract from the general worth of the Benedictine's very capable English translation.

The conclusion, therefore, can be drawn that for the general reader who is only interested in learning about the life of John Capistran from the most authoritative work on the subject, the English translation can be highly recommended; for the student the original German edition remains indispensable.

JOHN B. WUEST, O. F. M.

*Holy Family Monastery,
Oldenburg, Ind.*

St. Joseph in Appleton. The History of a Parish. By Theodore Roemer, O. F. M. Cap. (Appleton, Wis.: George Santa Publishing Co., 1943. Pp. xii+306.)

No saga of extensive significance is this history of St. Joseph Church in Appleton, Wis., written for the diamond jubilee of the parish by its historian son. As the introduction confesses, the story of St. Joseph parish taken in itself may be of no great importance; still it is one of those valuable contributions from which a picture of the whole development of the Church in the United States will be obtained. In 15 well-titled chapters the history of this originally German-speaking parish is unrolled from its beginning to its present jubilee year. As American parishes go, St. Joseph's must be numbered among the larger ones: in 1927, before a section was cut off to form a new parish, it had 934 children in its school, and in 1942 it had 202 baptisms, the greatest number in its seventy-five years.

Probably the most interesting are the first three chapters giving the setting and relating the origin and the formative years. As in many other communities, the Germans were latecomers — in Appleton they first arrived about 1850. In the beginning the Catholics among them shared St. Mary's Church that had been built by their English-speaking brethren. When their numbers increased Bishop Henni of Milwaukee sanctioned a separate parish for the Germans in 1867. For the first ten years (at the end of which it was entrusted to the Capuchin Fathers, who still administer it) the young parish passed through stormy growing years, beset with thorny negotiations with the mother parish in the breaking-away process, with a society of German parishioners who stubbornly opposed the pastor even to excommunication, and with chronic financial difficulties. There is also the almost traditional ambitious plan to liquidate the debts, which, according to pattern, failed to live up to expectations, not to mention the legal difficulties in which the promoters became involved.

Although these years may hold the most interest, it is the following ones which prove the metal of the historian, for parish histories, after the foundation period, have a tendency to settle down to changes of pastors, rebuilding programs, repairs and improvements, and recurring money problems. Despite this less interesting material, the author pursues his story until he brings it up to the present time. And it is just this perseverance that makes this history of St. Joseph's complete and of enduring value.

Excellent use was made of all the sources which are enumerated in the preface (pp. vii-xii). Faithful friary chroniclers supplied much otherwise unobtainable information. As in all contemporary history, the author was confronted with controversial issues that still have their living participants; he has disposed of them with exemplary tact and restraint. We miss illustrations. The ample index, however, must be commended. Exceptional for a souvenir parish history are the good cloth binding and the handy format. All in all, St. Joseph parish of Appleton has its story presented in a manner that can serve as a model for others, both on account of its durable make-up and the expert handling of material.

JOHN B. WUEST, O. F. M.

*Holy Family Monastery,
Oldenburg, Ind.*

Educators' Guide to Free Films. Compiled and edited by Mary Foley Horkheimer and John W. Diffor. (Randolph, Wis.: Box 226, Educators' Progress League, 1943. Pp. 169. \$3.00.)

Designed for the convenience of teachers who find it helpful to include film in their educational program, this third annual edition is a veritable goldmine of quick, reliable, and up-to-date information about sources of free films. It lists over 2000 films and some 150 slide-films (the latter being the term now applied to such items as film strips, slide picture films, Picturol, still films, stripfilms, filmslides, and film roll).

Because many films listed in previous editions of this Guide have been withdrawn during the past year, while many others have been added, a careful check on the part of the editor has made this volume not only the latest but also the most reliable yet placed on the desk of a teacher. All films have been verified for their availability, their annotations have all been carefully checked. Several new features have been incorporated into the 1943 edition. One of these is the *War Section*, as timely as it is up-to-date. This lists hundreds of films in the five generally accepted fields — Pre-Induction Training, Pre-Flight Training, The Home Front, Nutrition and Diet, First Aid and Physical Fitness. This section alone is worth the price of the whole volume, and should provide rich supplementary materials for war-time courses.

In addition to a *Subject index* giving bird's-eye view of 24 large fields covered, the volume has an alphabetical *Title index* (on colored paper, for quick and ready reference). This immediately guides the user to the page where full information is given about any particular film: its date of production (in many instances), whether it is sound or silent (or available in both forms), whether in 16mm or 35mm, the number of reels, its running time, and the source from which available. A brief but helpful annotation or description is given for each film. The *Source index*, also on colored paper to facilitate instant reference, lists the agencies from which the particular films are available, and the conditions under which they may be borrowed. The inclusion here of such late information as the postal zones with the addresses speaks for the care and faithfulness to detail which has gone into the compilation of this book.

For teachers and supervisors of schools and high schools who desire an economical, complete, up-to-date and helpful guide to free films, we heartily recommend this tool as basic for their effective visual education program.

IRENÆUS HERSCHER, O. F. M.

St. Bonaventure College,
St. Bonaventure, N. Y.

Books Received

ST. ANTHONY GUILD PRESS, PATERSON, NEW JERSEY.:

The Priesthood in a Changing World, by Rev. John A. O'Brien. *The White Canons of St. Norbert*, by Cornelius J. Kirkfleet, O. Praem.

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, ST. PAUL, MINN.:

Documents Relating to Northwest Missions, by Grace Lee Nute.

MARK PUBLISHING CO., CLEVELAND, OHIO.:

Admonitions Concerning Marriage, by Paul Blase.

D. APPLETON-CENTURY CO., INC., NEW YORK, N. Y.:

The Caesars of the Wilderness, by Grace Lee Nute.

BRUCE PUBLISHING CO., MILWAUKEE, WIS.:

The Seven Golden Cities, by Mabel Farnum. *The Philosophy of Being — On Act and Potency*, by Henri Renard, S. J.

THE MACMILLAN CO., NEW YORK, N. Y.:

From the Morning Watch, by Lucille Papin Borden. *Her Glimmering Tapers*, by Louis J. Stancourt.

ST. BONAVENTURE HIGH SCHOOL, STURTEVANT, WIS.:

The Seraphic Student, by Students of St. Bonaventure High School.

PSYCHO-SOCIOLOGICAL PRESS, NEW YORK, N. Y.:

Mysticism in Modern Psychology, by Charles Carle.

J. H. FURST CO., BALTIMORE, MD.:

The Morality of Imperfections (Thomistic Studies, No. 1), by James C. Osburn, O. P.

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA PRESS, WASHINGTON, D. C.:

Les Sept Eglises, by Leandre Poirier, O. F. M.

REV. JULIUS GRIGASSY, D. D., 431 GEORGE ST., BRADDOCK, PA.:

History of the Church of Christ, by Rev. Julius Grigassy, D. D.

THE EASTERN OBSERVER, MUNHALL, PA.:

An American Teresa.

FREDERICK UNGAR PUBLISHING CO., NEW YORK, N. Y.:

The Eternal City, by Desider Holisher.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, WASHINGTON, D. C.:

Classified List of Smithsonian Publications, compiled by Helen Munroe.

NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS

Contributors to FRANCISCAN STUDIES are asked to observe the following rules when preparing their manuscripts.

A. THE MAIN TEXT

1. Articles and other contributions should be typewritten as they are to be printed, in as far as this is possible. A glance at the current number of FRANCISCAN STUDIES (March, 1944) will show the style of paragraphing, headings, footnotes, quotations, citations, etc.

2. The entire manuscript should be typewritten, double-spaced, on one side only of the paper; a generous margin should be allowed on both the left and the right side of the page.

3. Quotations of more than four lines should not be enclosed in quotation marks. They should be introduced with a colon (:), and should start as a new line. Only the first line of the quotation should be indented, unless the quotation completes an incomplete sentence in the text, in which case not even the first line should be indented. Indicate quotations by a perpendicular line and a penciled note in the margin. Quotations should be double-spaced. Quotations of this nature in a foreign language should not be underlined; neither should quotations in a foreign language, enclosed in quotation marks, be underlined. However, foreign words forming part of the text of the article without quotation marks should be underlined (for italics).

4. In enumerations in the text, only the first line of each item should be indented. Instead of 1), write (1) or 1. Use the small letter 1 to designate the arabic numeral, not capital I.

5. The first line of each paragraph should be equally indented throughout the manuscript.

6. The number for a footnote in the text follows the sign of punctuation at that point (if any), and should be placed in the space above the line, e. g.:

He frequently mentions this fact in his diary.²⁷

7. Footnotes should be numbered consecutively for the whole article, and should not be made to begin with 1 for each new page.

8. The closing sign of a quotation (") normally follows the sign of punctuation (if any) at that point.

B. FOOTNOTES

1. Footnotes should be typewritten (double-spaced throughout), preferably on separate pages at the end of the manuscript. They should be typewritten as they are to be printed, e. g.:

27. J. J. O'Keefe, O. F. M., *The Buildings and Churches of the Mission of Santa Barbara* (Santa Barbara Mission, Santa Barbara, 1886), pp. 22-23.

2. Only the first line of a footnote should be indented, not the whole footnote. The author's name comes first, followed by a comma (,), then the title of the source. The name of publisher, followed by the place of publication,

and finally year of publication should be given in parentheses, followed by a comma. There is no comma between the title and the opening parenthesis.

3. Titles of books and of periodicals should be underlined (for italics); titles of articles in books or periodicals should be enclosed in quotation marks.

4. If the book is one of a series which has a general title, this general title (with the book's number in the series) should be placed within parentheses, after the title of the book, and should be underlined. References to FRANCISCAN STUDIES (both the monograph series and the periodical series), however, should be in all capital letters and not underlined, e. g.:

16. Victor G. Green, O. F. M. Cap., *The Franciscans in Medieval English Life (1224-1348)* (FRANCISCAN STUDIES, XX) (St. Anthony Guild Press, Paterson, N. J., 1939), pp. 50-54.

5. If the work cited consists of several volumes, the volume and page should be indicated as follows:

III, 16 (not: vol. III, p. 16).

6. If a periodical is cited repeatedly in the same article, its title may be abbreviated. The same abbreviation should be used consistently. The first time the periodical is cited, the title should be given in full, followed by the abbreviation, e. g.: *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* (A. F. H.). The abbreviation should be underlined.

7. In the case of periodicals the year, enclosed in parentheses, should be given after the number of the volume, e. g.:

FRANCISCAN STUDIES, XXIII (1942), 86.

8. Underline (for italics) the following abbreviations: *op. cit.*, *ibid.*, *et seq.* Do not underline: Cf., cf., p., pp., e. g. Do not substitute other abbreviations for the above; specifically, do not write ff. for *et seq.*

C. BIBLIOGRAPHY AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL STUDY

1. If there is a bibliography at the end of the article, follow as a model this sample:

Pastor, *History of the Popes*, V (ed. Antrobus), VIII (ed. Kerr). Herder, St. Louis, 1923.

Pesch, "Zinsgrund und Zinsgrenze." *Zeitschrift fuer kathol. Theologie*, XII (1888), 36-74; 393-418.

Saccani, "La Predicazione del B. Bernardino da Feltre in Reggio Emilia." *A. F. H.*, XIX (1926), 226-246.

2. The manner in which a bibliographical study should be presented is exemplified in this sample:

GAUDEL, AUGUSTE, "La théologie de l' 'Asumptus Homo.' Histoire et valeur doctrinale." *Revue des Sciences Religieuses*, XVII (1937), 64-90; 214-234; XVIII (1938), 45-71; 200-217.

This is a critical study of Father Déodat de Basly's book *Inopérantes offensives contre l'Assumptus Homo* (Paris, 1936).

GEORGE, FR., O. F. M., "Incarnation is Complement of Creation. The Duns Scot View." *Ecclesiastical Review*, LXXXVIII (1933), 522-526.

Christ's Incarnation would have taken place even if man had not sinned. This the author demonstrates by the fact that the Incarnation, etc.

D. BOOK REVIEWS

1. For the manner in which the title of a book and other bibliographical material should be presented at the beginning of a book review, follow this sample:

Elements of Logic and Formal Science. By C. West Churchman. (Chicago, Philadelphia, New York: J. B. Lippincott Company. Pp. x+337. Price, \$3.00.)

The science of Logic which seemed to be in a state of stabilization and saturation since Aristotle, has been in a state of flux and development, etc.

E. GENERAL REMARKS

1. When indicating a series of pages or years, use the complete set of numerals, pp. 34-39 (not: pp. 34-9); and 1234-1242 (not: 1234-42).

2. A carbon copy of the article or other contribution should be made so that the editor can call for it if the original copy should be lost.

3. The contribution should be written in as polished a style as its nature will permit. It is advised that contributors submit their manuscripts, before sending them to the editor, to some friend who will examine and correct the style from the point of view of an impartial and not highly informed reader. In that way obscure, elliptical, and inexact turns of style (probably also illogical conclusions and illiterate phrases) can be corrected by the author, who knows what he wants to say, in conjunction with his reader, who, being able to talk the matter over with him, can point out how the author fails to convey his thought. Moreover, such an impartial reading should include an examination as to whether the foregoing style sheet has been adhered to.



Fresco of St. Bernardine in the Palazzo Pubblico
at Siena by Sano di Pietro

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ST. BERNARDINE OF SIENA, PILLAR OF THE OBSERVANCE

THE title "Pillar of the Observance" which history has bestowed on Bernardine of Siena, expresses with a fine exactness the Saint's relation to the Observant movement in the Franciscan order. For, while on the one hand he did more than anyone else to promote the Reform, on the other he was not, as many historians seem to imply, the founder of the movement.

To appreciate fully the rôle which Bernardine played in the reform of the order it is necessary to have a picture of the state of the order in 1402 — when he received the habit — and to look at it again in 1444 — when he died in the Conventual convent at Aquila.

The history of the order from the death of St. Francis to 1517 may be divided into three periods, each characterized by a major dispute over poverty: one theoretical and two practical. The theoretical dispute was concerned with voluntary poverty, the poverty of Christ, and the question as to whether the possession of property in common lessens the perfection of religious life. This dispute found the order united against the opponents of absolute poverty outside

its fold, but it resulted in untold harm to the order in that it weakened obedience to the Holy See and occasioned decisions from the popes which caused many friars to lose the high ideal of poverty. The two practical disputes were carried on within the order: the first between the Community and the Spirituals, the second between the Observants and the Conventuals. The first of these disputes revolved about the question: Should poverty be practised as St. Francis had practised it and explained it in his Testament; or should it be practised as the popes had defined it in their explanations of the Rule? The Spirituals (not the Observants) rejected the declarations of the popes and demanded the literal observance of the Rule and Testament; the Community (like the Observants) held for the validity of the papal pronouncements, and denied that the Testament had any binding force. The Rule itself was not questioned — merely the manner of observing it was under discussion. The second dispute involved the Rule itself, or rather dispensations from the precepts of the Rule.¹

The Black Death, which began its ravages in 1338, depopulated monasteries² and demoralized those who survived. The Great Schism, beginning in 1378 and continuing into the second decade of the following century, undermined religious authority.³ And the wars in various countries, especially the Hundred Years' War in France, contributed to a general break-down of religious discipline and the introduction of numerous abuses and relaxations into religious life.⁴

During these trying times the order found its strongest support in the hermitages which, having existed since the days of St. Francis, had increased in membership during and after the first dispute over

1. Leonhard Lemmens, O. F. M., "Ziel und Anfang der Oberservanz," *Franziskanische Studien*, XIV (Muenster in W., 1927), pp. 285 *et seq.* For a detailed history of the second dispute, cf. Karl Balthasar, O. F. M., *Geschichte des Armutsstreites im Franziskanerorden*, Muenster, 1911.

2. It is said that two-thirds of the membership of the Franciscan Order — 124,000 friars — died of this plague. Cf. Guggenbichler, O. F. M., *Beitraege zur Kirchengeschichte des XVI und XVII Jahrhunderts* (Bozen, 1882), p. 242.

3. Friars of different papal obediences elected their own superiors. Thus it happened that in many cities there were three groups of friars, each group with its own superior and each professing obedience to a different claimant to the papal throne.

4. A reaction against relaxation was not confined to the Franciscan Order. About this time, and continuing into the fifteenth century, a reform of the Dominican Order was undertaken. Cf. Paul Thureau-Dangin, *The Life of S. Bernardino of Siena*, translated by the Baroness G. von Huegel (London, 1911), p. 240.

poverty. In 1334 John de Valle with four companions sought a life of stricter observance and, with the consent of Gerard of Cahors, Minister General of the order, withdrew to the little convent of Brugliano near Florence,⁵ where he lived for seventeen years. In 1368⁶ the government of this convent was taken over by the lay brother Paoluccio,⁷ who is considered by many to be the real founder of the Regular Observance.⁸ Ten such hermitages are known to have been in existence in 1373: six in Umbria and four in the province of Rome; but there were probably others.⁹ In 1374 the Minister General, Leonard Rossi, granted permission to Brother Paoluccio and the superiors of the other hermitages to send their friars to other places as they saw fit. And in 1380 the General, Louis Donato, named Brother Paoluccio Commissary for the houses of the Observance.¹⁰ In 1388 Henry Alfieri, then General, confirmed the appointment and granted Paoluccio the further privilege of opening new houses in Italy, Bosnia, and Corsica.¹¹ Worn out by penance, labors, and old age, Paoluccio became blind in 1390. He was brought to the convent of San Francesco in Foligno which was not of the Observance but where a relative of his was Guardian, and there he died in the same year.¹²

In spite of the degree of independence which the Observants enjoyed by reason of these favors and privileges, they were by no means considered a distinct unit in the order. Nor does it appear that they had any desire for separation or for autonomous existence. They merely asked to be allowed to observe the Rule in its purity, without becoming troublesome to those who were not of like mind. But by 1402, when Bernardine sought admission to the order, the

5. "Ab isto enim fratre Johanne propagata est, aut originem habuit familia regularis observantiae" ("Compendium Chronicarum Fratrum Minorum," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, II [1909], 641).

6. Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.*, p. 238, and Ward, *San Bernardino: The People's Preacher* (St. Louis, 1914), p. 16, give the year 1363 as the date of Paoluccio's appointment as superior of Brugliano; but Wadding (*Annales Minorum*, VIII, *ad annum* 1368, n. 210) gives the year 1368 and relates the very interesting circumstances of Paoluccio's confirmation by the Minister General, Thomas of Frignano.

7. Also known as Paulutius Vagnozzi, and Paul of Trinci.

8. "Pater primae familiae in Italia" (Wadding, IX, *ad annum* 1390, n. 94).

9. Lemmens, *op. cit.*, p. 287, n. 5.

10. Wadding, IX, *ad annum* 1380, n. 42.

11. *Ibid.*, IX, *ad annum* 1388, nn. 79 *et seq.*

12. *Ibid.*, IX, *ad annum* 1390, nn. 93 *et seq.*

movement termed "Observance"¹³ had taken deep root in Italy. For although individual Ministers General might hesitate as to the amount of independence to confer, there was no longer any official effort made to suppress it. Moreover, the radicalism which had characterized the earlier Spirituals had been moderated to such an extent that the members of the Observance enjoyed the respect and admiration of the other brethren of the order. And although the Observance in Italy in 1402 numbered but twenty small friaries in which there were only about one hundred and thirty friars,¹⁴ the movement had achieved a degree of importance in the order and the Church.

Two months after receiving the habit in the convent of San Francesco in Siena, Bernardine withdrew to the little hermitage of Columbaio "sub nova congregatione purioris Observantiae."¹⁵ From this time until his death in 1444, Bernardine's life and endeavors were inextricably bound up with the Observance. In 1418 — the intervening years having been spent in penance, prayer, and study — Bernardine embarked on the active apostolate which was to earn him such titles as "The People's Preacher" and "Apostle of Italy." As we are here concerned only with the influence he exerted on the spirituality of the order, his activities as a preacher will be considered only insofar as they have bearing on the history of the Observance.

St. John Capistran, whose own apostolate was perhaps even more remarkable than Bernardine's, used to say: "Credo, quod ipse Bernardinus in tota ytaliam incepit elevare nostram religionem de observantia."¹⁶ Certainly from the time Bernardine's fame and popularity as a preacher began to grow, a rich harvest of vocations to

13. The term "Observance" as applied to the primitive observance of the Franciscan Rule is found for the first time in the decree of the Council of Constance, *Supplicationibus personarum* of September 23, 1415. In earlier documents these hermits were called "fratres simplices et devoti," or "pauperculi fratres," and were mostly lay brothers (Lemmens, *op. cit.*, p. 289). It is interesting to note that St. Bernardine himself never used the term "Observance." As Vicar General he addressed his encyclical and other letters "ad fratres locorum devotorum."

14. Wadding, IX, *ad annum* 1405, n. 271.

15. *Ibid.*, IX, *ad annum* 1402, n. 254. The reason for his transfer is given in the following words: "propter adventantium saecularium frequentiam, et consanguineorum importunos accessus."

16. Johannes Hofer, *Johannes von Capistrano — Ein Leben in Kampf um die Reform der Kirche* (Innsbruck, 1936), p. 101, n. 36.

the order was reaped in every city and town which he visited. Cities and towns of importance eagerly sought the privilege of building monasteries to house the stricter friars, many of whom belonged to the best families. New houses of the order were built in Milan, Pavia, Bergamo, Brescia, Florence, Pisa, etc.; and all of these new foundations looked to Bernardine for guidance. Very soon there began to come forth from these convents gifted young men who prided themselves on being disciples of Bernardine, and who in their turn became popular preachers of whom Bernardine was himself justifiably proud.

But it was not Bernardine's oratory alone which his disciples imitated. By word and example he taught them that the successful apostolate is based on sound spirituality.¹⁷ His brethren sought to emulate his virtue as the surest means of achieving some degree of his success. The new foundations became nurseries of sanctity rivaling the solitudes of old. It would have been easy for these houses — from which so many friars, especially young men, going out to rub shoulders with the world, won renown as popular missionaries — to lapse quickly from the way of regular observance. But Bernardine's spirit and example obviated this danger. As his preaching to the people was accompanied by remarkable conversions even among the stubborn Fraticelli, so his association with his brethren seems to have inspired them to greater holiness of life. Among his closer associates there were John Capistran, James of the Marshes, Albert of Sarteano, Bernardine of Monte Feltro, Vincent of Siena, Bernardine of Fossa, and Matthew of Girgenti, whose sanctity has been recognized and affirmed by the Church. All of these — and many others whose names are less well known now — were men who led the active life of the apostolate; their lives and virtues were before the eyes of the people. But there were still others who, because they lacked oratorical ability or had chosen the hidden life of the lay brother, imitated Bernardine's virtue and profited by his example without attracting the attention of the world.

17. "Once when he [Bernardine] was asked how to preach with profit he declared that only they could do so who practised first themselves that which they preached to others, and sought only with a most pure intention the glory of Him for Whom they labored" (Pamfilo da Magliano, O. F. M., *The Life of St. Francis of Assisi and a Sketch of the Franciscan Order* [New York, 1867], p. 364).

Like another St. Francis, Bernardine taught his brethren how to preach "for the utility and edification of the people" without losing "the spirit of holy prayer and devotion to which all temporal things should be subservient." Bernardine taught not only his contemporary brethren. The influence he exerted has passed to succeeding generations of Franciscans. One cannot be familiar with the life and activity of the order at the present time without recognizing Bernardine's influence. Chapters of his life as a popular missionary which relate his striving to unite the active apostolate with deep spirituality read like the efforts of twentieth-century Franciscans to cling to the best ideals of the order. And the similarity is not wholly coincidental.

By a decree of July 22, 1438, Bernardine was named Vicar General and Commissary of the Observance throughout Italy.¹⁸ In spite of his own reluctance, he was prevailed upon to accept the office, most probably under kindly pressure from John Capistran.¹⁹ The new office meant an almost complete withdrawal from the work of preaching, but it also meant that he could devote more time to the welfare of the Observance which he had never ceased to promote since his entrance into the order. He took up his new duties with the same energy that had characterized his preaching. While holding to the strict observance of the Rule in all essential points, he opposed exaggerated interpretations in trifling matters, and sought to warn his brethren against the dangers to which scrupulosity could give rise. In an encyclical letter to the friars "*sub mea cura*," dated July 31, 1440, he gave an authoritative interpretation of the Rule which is a model of prudence and firmness.²⁰ This, together with his many letters, visitations, admonitions, and corrections gave to the Observant movement a stability and well-ordered manner of life which up to that time it had not always had.

In collaboration with his intimate friend and co-Vicar, John Capistran, Bernardine devised a program of studies for his friars. This he carried out in the face of opposition from those who held

18. Cf. Wadding, XI, *ad annum* 1438, nn. 31 *et seq.*, where the decree is given in full.

19. Hofer, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

20. Wadding (XI, *ad annum* 1440, nn. 102 *et seq.*) gives the complete text of the letter.

that studies would lower the standard of simplicity which was the distinguishing mark of the Friar Minor. It was, however, precisely to promote spirituality that Bernardine insisted on study. He was firmly convinced that the real cause of the deplorable decline in the moral and religious life of Italy was to be found in the ignorance of people and clergy.²¹ He set for himself and his band of popular missionaries the task of reeducating the people in the fundamentals of Catholic belief and morals; and he realized that the task could be fulfilled only by brethren whose own education was above the average. On February 6, 1444, John Capistran, then Bernardine's successor as Vicar General of the Cismontane Observants, issued his famous encyclical "De Promovendo Studio inter Observantes,"²² in which he points out the necessity of studies for those who wish to preach or administer the sacraments. He discourses at length on the advantage of study to the spiritual life. As Wadding remarks, "Capistranus spiritum sequutus optimi sui praeceptoris Bernardini."²³ While Vicar General, Bernardine taught moral theology for a time in the convent of Monteripido near Perugia. He did not hesitate to suspend from the exercise of priestly faculties those friars, even superiors, who were found lacking in a basic knowledge of theology.²⁴ He had been a disciple of the famed humanist, Guerino, and until his death remained a friend of the outstanding humanists of his day. And although his own general education was not the thorough, well-rounded training of John Capistran, the former lawyer and judge, yet he had acquainted himself deeply during the years of retirement at Columbaio with the writings of St. Bonaventure and other scholars of the order,²⁵ and had drawn from them a knowledge which fitted him to be an excellent teacher of the people and an authority in the sacred sciences for his brethren.²⁶ As superior

21. Hofer, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

22. Cf. *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, XI, 127 *et seq.*

23. Wadding, XI, *ad annum* 1444, n. 223.

24. *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, II, 26.

25. The influence of Scotus may be seen in numerous places in his sermons, e. g., regarding the motive of the Incarnation, the Immaculate Conception, etc. Cf. Scaramuzzi, O. F. M., *La dottrina B. G. Duns Scoto nella predicazione di S. Bernardino da Siena* (Florence, 1930), *passim*.

26. That Bernardine was successful in carrying through his program of studies may be seen from the fact that by 1481 the library of the Osservanza near Siena, founded by St. Bernardine, had over 1300 volumes — a considerable number of books for that day. The library comprised theology, chronicles, Latin classics, contemporary

of the Observance, he closely followed St. Bonaventure, whose problems had been much like his own. This attachment to the Seraphic Doctor accounts, no doubt, for the wisdom, tact, and firmness with which he fulfilled his difficult task of purging the Observant movement of the dangerous and excessive trends of the Spirituals, and giving it a safe and sound spiritual direction.

Perhaps more than any other individual of his age, Bernardine took to heart the universal cry for reform of the Church in head and members. But unlike many over-zealous reformers, he carefully avoided tirades against the clergy in his sermons to the people. As a true follower of St. Francis, who had bequeathed to his sons a deep reverence and respect for the priesthood, Bernardine opposed the misuse of the pulpit for the purpose of detracting the clergy. His practice was, instead, wherever and whenever it was possible, to give closed conferences to priests, in which he spoke to them of the particular duties of their state. On one occasion he said that he could accomplish more good by one such conference to priests than by ranting about the sins of the clergy in twenty Lenten courses.²⁷ His influence on his disciples in this matter is clearly seen in the *Speculum Clericorum* of John Capistran.²⁸ There can be little doubt that this same influence is still at work in the tradition which the Franciscan order follows today in retreat work.

During the time that Bernardine was Vicar General of the Observance not only did he interest himself in building friaries in Italy and peopling them with fervent religious, but he seems to have had a special interest in foreign missions.²⁹ The Council of Ferrara-Florence had awakened a new interest in regard to the peoples of the Near East; and the friars of the Observance were commissioned to work in various places of the Orient. In 1440 the number of those sent to the East was so great that John Capistran

(Renaissance) authors, and works on medicine and jurisprudence. Cf. Dr. Karl Hefele, *Der hl. Bernardin von Siena und die franziskanische Wanderpredigt in Italien waehrend des XV Jahrhunderts* (Freiburg in B., 1912), pp. 14 *et seq.*

27. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 198 *et seq.*

29. "Sub vicariatu autem sancti Bernardini ejus ferventissimis praedicationibus, optimis moribus et exemplis, multiplicata sunt loca et numerus Fratrum de Observantia valde, tam in eadem Provincia [scil. Tusciae] quam in aliis Provinciis intra et extra Italiam" ("Chronica Nicolai Glassberger," *Analecta Franciscana* [Quaracchi, 1887], II, 300).

objected and wrote to Bernardine: "It is not right that noble Italy, the queen of lands, be robbed for the sake of Armenians and Indians." And he asks: "Nostis, quot hoc anno predicatorum nostri ordinis premisimus et dimisimus?"³⁰ In this matter, however, as in others, it was Bernardine's views which prevailed. When Capistran became Vicar General he followed the principles and practices of Bernardine. In an encyclical letter issued shortly after his election, John Capistran recommends the foreign missions to his friars, and encourages them to seek the salvation of unbelievers even at the cost of their own lives.³¹

The genuineness of Bernardine's sanctity was put to the test when he was accused before Rome of heresy as the result of his efforts to promote devotion to the Holy Name. During the trying days when he was under suspicion, and still more during the investigation and trial, Bernardine defended himself against the charge, with the help of St. John Capistran. His attitude was one of great meekness, and never did he allow himself to become embittered toward his calumniators. His trial eventuated in a triumphant vindication, but Bernardine turned the triumph to the glory of the Holy Name. With the permission of Pope Martin V, before whom the trial was held, Bernardine preached in Rome for eighty days. He displayed not the least rancor toward his enemies or pride in the personal victory for himself.³² When asked why he did not take action against his enemies, he replied: "You speak of enemies? Do not call them enemies who furnish us with the means of sanctifying ourselves."³³ Later on, toward the end of his life, after he had labored long and successfully for the good of the Observance, after he had built the Observant family into a large and important religious community that was esteemed by the people and enjoyed the respect and confidence of the Holy See, many of the friars who owed him a heavy debt of gratitude turned against him, misinter-

30. Hofer, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 247.

32. It was on this occasion that St. Bernardine established a Confraternity of the Holy Name in the Church of the Gesù in Rome, where St. Ignatius Loyola later became a member. When St. Ignatius founded the Society of Jesus, he chose the monogram of the Holy Name as the official seal of the Society (Cf. Stanislaus, O. S. F. C., *St. Bernardine of Siena in Publications of the Catholic Truth Society* (London, 1902), LIII, 20.

33. Léon, O. F. M., *L'Auréole Séraphique* (Paris, 1882), II, 277.

preted his motives, and treated him with coldness and mistrust. It was a bitter cup even for a saint to drink. But Bernardine never lost his equanimity. In private letters to John Capistran³⁴ he expresses himself in a very human way about the unfair treatment he had received. But never in public utterances did he show the slightest resentment or animosity toward those who had caused him this suffering; nor did he allow these experiences to lessen his interest and zeal for the welfare of the order. His one goal as superior was to lead his subjects to holiness, and to that end he worked unceasingly in spite of disappointment and opposition. As, when he was engaged in preaching, it had been his custom to mortify himself for the sake of his listeners, so, as superior, he punished the faults of his friars by inflicting the severest penances on his own body.

If Bernardine was a model of sanctity to his associates and subjects, he was no less an example to the superiors who succeeded him.³⁵ He had been chosen for the highest office in his family of the order, because he had long been recognized by the Minister General and the Holy See as the heart of the Observant movement in Italy. But the honor served only to make him the more humble.³⁶ He protested frequently that he lacked the qualifications for the office, and earnestly sought to resign on several occasions. The pope refused his plea, empowering him to choose an assistant to whom he could delegate all his own powers and whom he could remove at will. He named St. John Capistran to this post and gave him a free hand in the government of the Observance, virtually ceasing to exercise authority himself. His letters to John Capistran from this period express his sincere gratitude for the work which Capistran was doing for the cause.

The biographers of the Saint enumerate the many virtues which adorned his private life. Some of these virtues made an especially deep impression on his companions. We are told, for example, that Bernardine when traveling paid obedience to his principal com-

34. *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, XXI, 92 et seq.

35. Of the Vicars General who succeeded Bernardine down to the close of the century, one was canonized and seven were beatified.

36. He had previously declined the episcopacy three times. He refused the see of Siena in 1428, that of Ferrara in 1431, and the see of Urbino in 1435. León, *op. cit.*, II, 277 et seq.

panion, just as if the latter had been superior of a convent to which Bernardine had been assigned, "and that not feignedly or for appearance' sake, but from his heart, and in truth, as I have often observed."³⁷ Friar Vincent of Siena had accompanied Bernardine on his preaching tours during twenty-four years, another friar had been with him for eighteen years, and a third for fourteen; and in each case death was the only cause of separation, because Bernardine "was so sweet and gentle."³⁸ When Friar Vincent lay dying he said: "Mortem non horreo, sed doleo mecum sepeliri Bernardini virtutes, et divinos, quos abunde excepit, favores: si tantillum huic sancto Viro supervixissem, sacramento, quo me constrictit, solutus, talia propalarem, quae universo orbi admirationem parerent et stuporem."³⁹

The devotions which Bernardine loved and endeavored to popularize also helped in no small way to mold the spirituality of the order. Without being mere imitators, his disciples were infected with Bernardine's enthusiasm and worked so earnestly in spreading the spirit of their master that many of these devotions became identified with the order so as to be known as peculiarly "Franciscan" devotions. There is ample evidence that his disciples and confrères became the zealous propagators of Bernardine's favorite devotion — that of the Holy Name.⁴⁰ And the same is true, though less easily proved, of some of his other devotions. To Bernardine and his followers, devotion to the Holy Name was but a means of directing attention and arousing devotion to the Bearer of the Name.⁴¹ Hence we find them also endeavoring to spread devotion to the Sacred Heart, to Christ's Passion, and to the Blessed Sacrament.⁴² Bernardine himself was an ardent defender of the Immaculate

37. *Analecta Bollandiana*, XXV, 313, quoted by A. G. Ferrers Howell, *S. Bernardino of Siena* (London, 1913), p. 194.

38. Howell, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

39. Wadding, XI, *ad annum* 1442, n. 169.

40. Cf. Peter R. Biasiotto, O. F. M., *History of the Development of Devotion to the Holy Name* (St. Bonaventure, N. Y., 1943), pp. 98 *et seq.*

41. *Ibid.*, pp. 90 *et seq.*

42. It is interesting to note that Bernardine advocated the reception of First Communion at the earliest sign of discretion in a child, and that at a time when the general practice in Italy was to postpone Communion until the age of fourteen years and older. Cf. Browe, S. J., "Die Kinderkommunion im Mittelalter," *Scholastik*, V (1930), p. 41; also Hefele, *op. cit.*, p. 258; and *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* XII (1919), 261.

Conception of the Blessed Virgin,⁴³ her Assumption, her right to be called Co-Redemptrix, and her other privileges and prerogatives. An apparition of the Blessed Virgin in 1442, while Bernardine was Vicar General, to one of his subjects seemed to place the stamp of heavenly approval on the devotion to the Seven Joys of Mary, which Bernardine had frequently promoted in his sermons. Almost immediately Bernardine's army of preachers popularized this form of devotion which came to be known as the "Franciscan Crown."⁴⁴ The Saint also composed many beautiful prayers and hymns in honor of St. Joseph and St. Francis which were used by other friars on the occasions of their missions; they were traditionally used in the houses of Bernardine's obedience.

The story of Bernardine's death and of John Capistran's successful efforts to have his "dearest friend and father in God" raised to the honors of the altar does not belong here. But with the canonization of Bernardine, his real influence on the spirituality of the order began to be evident. The solemn ceremony of May 26, 1450, was the first such honor paid to a Franciscan since the canonization of St. Louis, Bishop of Toulouse, in 1316.⁴⁵ Three friars to whom the same honor would be paid before long were present at Bernardine's triumph: John Capistran, James of the Marshes, and Didacus of Alcalá. Within the century following Bernardine's death, no fewer than twenty-three other friars of Bernardine's family died endowed with such sanctity that the Church has declared them Blessed. A biographer of the Saint, who was present at the canonization, says that 5,777 Friars Minor, by actual count, walked in procession. Undoubtedly all of these were not Observants; but it is significant that, as Wadding points out,⁴⁶ at the Saint's death there were three hundred convents of the Observants either built or reformed by him, and that the Observance numbered more than five thousand Friars.

Friar Julian of Milan⁴⁷ relates that on the third day after Bernardine's death, a Doctor of Divinity of the Order of Augustin-

43. Mariotti, O. F. M., *L'Immacolata Concezione di Maria ed i Francescani* (Quaracchi, 1904), pp. 103 *et seq.*

44. León, *op cit.*, p. 300.

45. He died in 1299.

46. IX, *ad annum* 1405, n. 271.

47. Howell, *op. cit.*, pp. 205 *et seq.*

ian Hermits preached the funeral sermon in the piazza of Aquila, taking for his text the words: "Quis est iste formosus in stola sua?"⁴⁸ The preacher set forth how the four cardinal and the three theological virtues had been illustrated by the Saint's life; he reminded his hearers that no one until Bernardine had arisen so like unto St. Francis; and he expatiated in particular on the enlargement of the Observance through Bernardine's ministry. He preached for the best part of two hours, and yet, says Julian, "he did not say a quarter of what I should have liked him to say."

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48. Cf. Isaias 63:1.

ARISTOTLE'S NATURAL THEOLOGY

THOUGH much has been written about Aristotle, there are not a few who seem to have rather vague notions concerning his First Unmoved Mover, the $\nu\acute{o}\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma\ \nu\omicron\eta\acute{\sigma}\epsilon\omega\varsigma$. It will not be out of place, therefore, to examine the Stagirite's writings on this subject.

Aristotle's idea of God is intimately bound up with his entire system of thought, and constitutes an important element of his philosophy. For this reason any attempt at exposition of his natural theology must needs include some general review of his system.

By way of introduction to his formal doctrine on God, it will be well to say something of Aristotle's general method: "All men by nature desire to know."¹ In this process of learning or knowing there are two factors: the person who is to know, and the world of knowables — in other words, man and the universe about him. On the part of the person who learns, Aristotle distinguishes two sources of knowledge: the senses and the intellect. In the vast complex world of knowables, he makes the important distinction between the $\acute{o}\tau\iota$, the fact, and the $\delta\iota\acute{o}\tau\iota$, the "why" or cause. Man, by means of his senses, comes to know the $\acute{o}\tau\iota$, and thereby becomes a man of experience. But the wise man is he who by means of the intellect studies principles and causes, especially the first causes. Of course, the wise man is superior to the man of experience, but wisdom comes through experience.² Aristotle's method, as he tells us often, is "the natural way;" he starts from things that are more knowable and obvious to us, and proceeds to those which are clearer and more knowable by nature.³ Because Aristotle's system contains the results of his investigation of the $\acute{o}\tau\iota$ and the $\delta\iota\acute{o}\tau\iota$, he has come to be known, and rightly so, as the father of the experimental sciences as well as the great philosopher — as Dante put it, "the master of all who know."

Of prime importance to an understanding of Aristotle's natural theology are the following two facts:

1. Aristotle was interested in reality, and, for him, reality primarily resided in the concrete particular thing and not in the uni-

1. *Met.*, 980 a.

2. *Met.*, 982 a and b.

3. *Phys.*, 184 a 17; *De An.*, 415 a 21.

versal. Knowledge, therefore, begins with the particular, and not with the universal, as Plato taught. But, of course, science is of the universal.⁴

2. Consequently Aristotle propounded a theory of knowledge which the Schoolmen expressed by the principle "Nihil in intellectu quod non prius fuerit in sensu." The first step in knowledge is particular sense-experience; by the various mental operations upon the sense-data we come to the superior, universal, intellectual knowledge.

This paper attempts, in the light of these two cardinal principles, to present his teaching on God by showing that his entire system is an elaboration of the *ὅτι* and *διότι*, and that his theory of a Divine Being is in reality an attempt to round out and complete his classification of the *ὅτι* and *διότι*. Specifically, he works toward an unmovable spiritual substance, and seeks a first cause for the motion of the first heaven. His theory of the First Unmoved Mover provides his unmovable substance and thereby fulfills the dual purpose of completing the classification of the *ὅτι* and the *διότι* — and, by the same token, his entire system of thought.

For Aristotle, basic reality is substance.

Now, since we are seeking the first principles and highest causes, there must be something to which these belong in virtue of its own nature. . . . It is of being, as being, that we must grasp the first causes.⁵

There are many senses in which a thing is said to be, but all refer to one startingpoint. . . . If, then, this is substance, it is of substance that the philosopher must grasp the principles and causes.⁶

That which *is* primarily and *is* simply (not "is something") must be substance. Now there are several senses in which a thing is said to be first, but substance is first in every sense.⁷

And indeed the question which was raised of old and is raised now and always, and is always the subject of doubt, namely, what being is, is just the question: what is substance.⁸

The universe is of the nature of a whole, and substance is its first part. Substances are being in the full sense.⁹

4. *Met.*, 1086 b 33.

5. *Met.*, 1003 a 26-32.

6. *Met.*, 1003 b 5-7; 17-18.

7. *Met.*, 1028 a 30-33.

8. *Met.*, 1028 b 3-5.

9. *Met.*, 1069 a 19.

True to his interest in reality and his conviction that fundamentally reality is constituted by individual real things, Aristotle attempts an adequate classification of real things. As Ross states it: "The facts of experience are represented as a confused mass which must be analyzed until we see its ultimate implications."¹⁰ In *De Anima*¹¹ we find something of his classification (see Figure 1).

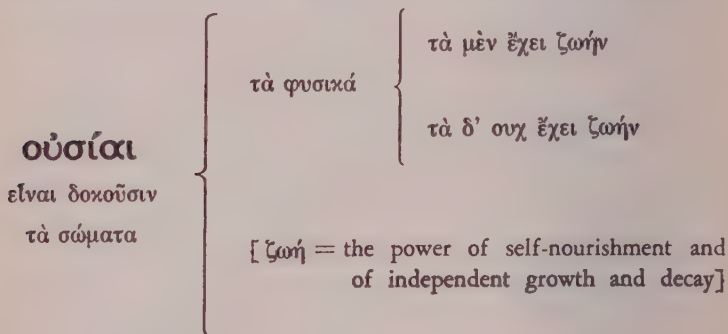


FIGURE 1.

In this schema we have a very general Aristotelian division of substances, i. e., of the *ὄν*. The details of this classification may be gathered from his other writings, particularly the psychological, biological, and the physical treatises. For the purpose of this paper, an amplification of the division is submitted (see Figure 2).

With this catalogue of physical substances before us, we can now proceed a little further. Aristotle has much to say about each sub-class and its species. Since they have no direct bearing on our problem, we may disregard the living things, and proceed to the non-living physical substances. In summary outline, the significant teaching of Aristotle in regard to these substances is as follows:

1. *The four simple bodies*: earth, water, air, and fire. They are simple bodies, not eternal; they come "to be" reciprocally; by nature they are such that they change into one another; their coming "to be" will be cyclical; there is no single one out of which they all originate. They differ from one another in property, function, and

10. *Aristotle*, p. 63.

11. 412 a 4-15.

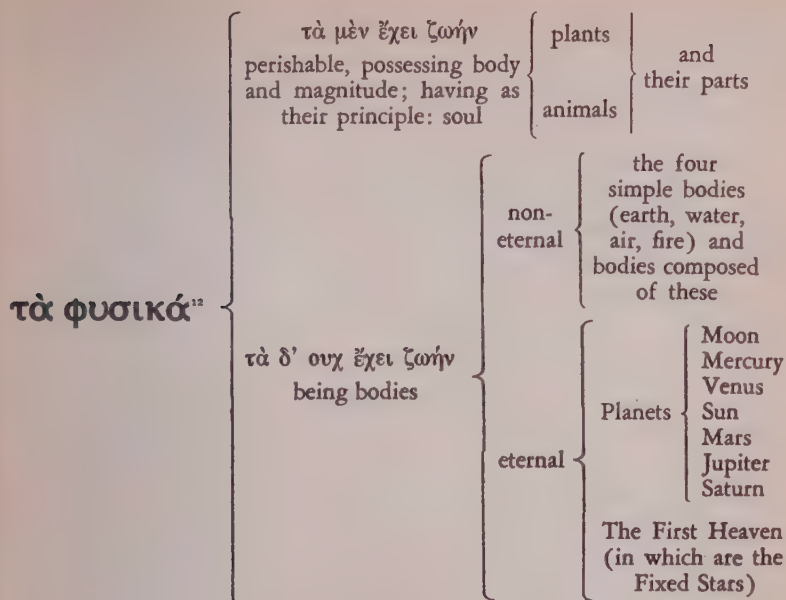


FIGURE 2.

power. All the composite bodies which exist in the region belonging to the central body are composed of all these four simple bodies.

The motion of earth and water is toward the center; that of air and fire is toward the limit.¹³

2. *The earth* is in the center of the universe; is generated; is spherical; and, compared to the other heavenly bodies, is of no great size (400,000 stades — i. e., 9,987 miles in circumference).

The earth is at rest.¹⁴

3. *The planets and their spheres.* The universe is a particular and a material thing and is composed of all perceptible bodies. It consists of a series of concentric spheres. It is finite and there is no void; therefore, the spheres are in contact. The planets and spheres are composed of a fifth element called aether; they are bodies and

12. *Met.*, 1069 a 30, 1042 a 7-10; *De Caelo*, I & II.

13. *De Gen. et Corr.*, II; *De Caelo*, III & IV.

14. *De Caelo*, II, chapters 13 & 14.

magnitudes; they are not generable or destructible; they are movable in space.¹⁵

The heavenly spheres, of which there are fifty-five,¹⁶ have separately special multiple circular motion.¹⁷ They exhibit a composition of several movements into one.¹⁸

4. *The first heaven* is composed of aether; is eternal, i. e., it contains and embraces in itself the infinity of time; is the sphere of the fixed stars; is animate; is a divine body; is spherical.

Its nature is to move always regularly and eternally in a circle. It is at the circumference of the universe. Its motion is a measure of all movements — it has the swiftest of all movements.¹⁹

5. *The fixed stars*. These are composed of that substance in which their path is (aether). The warmth and light which proceed from them are caused by the friction set up in the air by their motion. They are neither fiery nor move in fire.

They have no movement of their own. They are spherical and are not self-moved.²⁰

Up to this point we have described what might be called Aristotle's astronomical $\delta\tau\iota$. If we add to this the fact of change which for Aristotle is basic and empiric,²¹ we may proceed to follow him in his quest for the $\delta\iota\acute{o}\tau\iota$. In other words, having classified physical substances, and being convinced that things change, Aristotle begins to philosophize.

We must, therefore, look into Aristotle's doctrine of change. In *De Anima* we find his logical division of substance which will be helpful to our understanding of his notion of change²² (see Figure 3).

For Aristotle, motion in general is the actualization of the potential. In the *Physics* he defines it as follows:²³ "The fulfillment of what exists potentially, insofar as it exists potentially, is motion."

15. *De Caelo*, I & II.

16. *Met.*, 1074 a 11.

17. *De Caelo*, 292 b 25-33.

18. *De Caelo*, 288 a 16.

19. *De Caelo*, II, chapters 1-6.

20. *De Caelo*, II, chapters 7-11.

21. *Phys.*, 185 a 12.

22. *De Anima*, 412 a 4-15.

23. *Phys.*, 201 a 10.

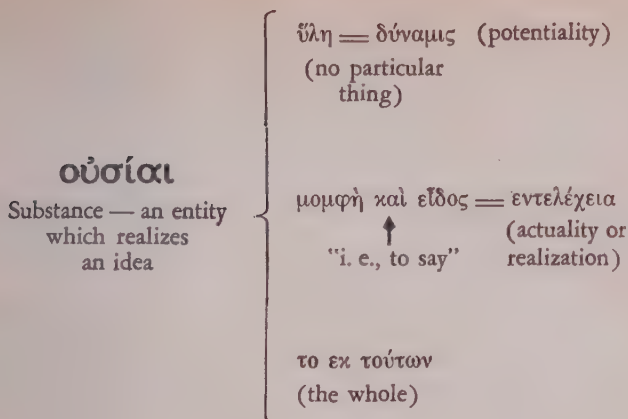


FIGURE 3.

There are as many kinds of movement and change as of being. Each kind of thing being divided into the potential and the completely real, I define the actuality of the potential as such movement. . . . Movement takes place when the complete reality itself exists, and neither earlier nor later. The complete reality, then, of that which exists potentially, when it is completely real and actual, not qua itself, but qua movable, is movement. And the same reasoning applies to all other movements.²⁴

There is something which primarily causes movement; and there is something which is moved, also the time in which it is moved, and that from which and that into which it is moved.²⁵

Changes are of four kinds — either in respect of the essence, or of the quality, or of the quantity, or of place; and change in respect of the individual nature is simply generation and destruction, the change in quantity is increase and diminution, and change in respect of an affection is alteration, and change in place is motion. . . . Now all things that change have matter, but different matter; and of eternal things those which are not generable but are movable in space have matter — not for generation, however, but for motion from one place to another.²⁶

These quotations provide us with a brief summary of Aristotle's doctrine of change. If one were to apply this doctrine to his catalogue of physical substances as outlined above, it would prove to be an interesting study. To some of these types of substances all four species of change are applicable; to others, only some of them; and

24. *Met.*, 1065 b 15-1066 a 6.

25. *Met.*, 1067 b 7-9.

26. *Met.*, 1064 b 8-27.

to still others, only one kind. The determination of the cause of all these changes has been carefully worked out by Aristotle, but the presentation of this in detail would require considerable time and space, and, as a matter of fact, probably has no place in this paper. Let it suffice to say that Aristotle experienced no great difficulty in determining the causes of motions for living substances²⁷ and for the primary elements and the inanimate bodies composed of them.²⁸ His doctrine of generation and corruption, and his psychology, take care of all motions for such substances.

But to account for the one type of change, namely, motion from place to place, which alone is a property of the heavenly bodies,²⁹ was Aristotle's great problem. To explain the motions of the heavenly bodies, and specifically to define the ultimate διότι of the movement of the first heaven, constitutes Aristotle's natural theology. The problem is settled to Aristotle's satisfaction by positing the First Unmoved Mover.

To the fact of change in general and the locomotion of the heavenly bodies, Aristotle brings another cardinal principle as an introduction and basis for his philosophy of movement from place to place: "All things that are in motion must be moved by something."³⁰ With this principle as a major premise, Aristotle reasons to the notion of unmoved mover, and the First Unmoved Mover. His argumentation follows.

Motion is eternal.³¹

If then everything that is in motion must be moved by something, and the movent must either itself be moved by something else or not so moved, and in the former case there must be some first movent that is not itself moved by anything else, while in the case of the immediate movent being of this kind there is no need of an intermediate movent that is also moved (for it is impossible that there should be an infinite series of movents, each of which is itself moved by something else, since in our infinite series there is no first term) — if then everything that is in motion is moved by something, and the first movent is moved but not by anything else, it must be moved by itself.³²

27. *Phys.*, 253 a 7-20; 259 b 1-30.

28. *Phys.*, 254 b 33-255 b 31.

29. "Locomotion is the only motion possible for eternal things" (*Phys.*, 260 b 29).

30. *Phys.*, 256 a 2.

31. *Phys.*, 252 a 4.

32. *Phys.*, 256 a 12-20.

That which primarily imparts motion is unmoved.³³

Since there must always be motion without intermission, there must necessarily be something — it may be one thing or a plurality — that first imparts motion; and this first movent must be unmoved. There must be some such thing which, while it has the capacity of moving something else, is itself unmoved and exempt from all change, which can affect it neither in an unqualified nor in an accidental sense.³⁴

Motion then being eternal, the first movent, if there is but one, will be eternal also; if there are more than one, there will be a plurality of such eternal movents. We ought, however, to suppose that there is one rather than many, and a finite rather than an infinite number — here it is sufficient to assume only one movent, the first of the unmoved things, which being eternal will be the principle of motion to everything else.

The following argument also makes it evident that the first movent must be something that is one and eternal. We have shown (Book VIII, chapter 1) that there must always be motion. That being so, motion must also be continuous,³⁵ because what is always is continuous, whereas what is merely in succession is not continuous. But further, if motion is continuous, it is one: and it is one only if the movent and the moved that constitute it are each of them one.³⁶

There are some things that are always unmoved, and some things that are always in motion.³⁷

We may confidently conclude that if a thing belongs to the class of unmoved movents which are also themselves moved accidentally, it is impossible that it should cause continuous motion. So the necessity that there should be a motion continuously requires that there should be a first movent that is unmoved even accidentally, if, as we have said, there is to be in the world of things an unceasing and undying motion, and the world is to remain permanently self-contained and within the same limits: for if the first principle is permanent, the universe must also be permanent, since it is continuous with the first principle. (We must distinguish, however, between accidental motion of a thing by itself and such motion by something else, the former being confined to perishable things, whereas the latter belongs also to certain first principles of heavenly bodies, that is to say, those which experience more than one locomotion [namely, the planets]).

And further, if there is always something of this nature, a movent that is itself unmoved and eternal, then that which is first moved by it must be eternal. . . .

The motion imparted by the unmoved will always be imparted in the same way, and be one and the same, since the unmoved does not itself change in relation to that which is moved by it. But that [e.g., any one of the heavenly bodies] which is moved by something [*sc.*, ὁ οὐρανός which imparts motion to terrestrial things through the medium of the various

33. *Phys.*, 258 b 5.

34. *Phys.*, 258 b 10-15.

35. *Phys.*, 256 a 10; 260 a 28.

36. *Phys.*, 259 a 5-18.

37. *Phys.*, 259 a 29.

heavenly bodies] which, though it is in motion, is moved directly by the unmoved, stands in varying relations to the things that it moves, so that the motion which it causes will not always be the same: by reason of the fact that it occupies contrary positions or assumes contrary forms at different times it will produce contrary motions in each several thing that it moves and will cause it to be at one time at rest and at another time in motion.

The unmoved movent, since it remains permanently simple and unvarying and in the same state, will cause motion that is one and simple.³⁸

Locomotion is the primary type of motion,³⁹ and the only type that can be continuous.⁴⁰

Single and continuous motion is motion of a single thing in a single period of time and operating within a sphere admitting of no further specific differentiation.⁴¹

Rotary motion is motion of a thing from its place to its place.⁴²

There is no process of change that admits of infinity or continuity except rotary locomotion.⁴³

Rotary motion is the primary locomotion.⁴⁴

Rotary motion is the only motion that admits of being regular.⁴⁵

The first movent is indivisible and without parts and without magnitude.⁴⁶

The motion which it imparts to the first heaven involves no effort on the part of the first mover.⁴⁷

The movent occupies the circumference of the sphere.⁴⁸

The preceding quotations constitute a résumé of Book VIII of the *Physics*. The quotations provide a brief summary of Aristotle's proofs that there must be a First Unmoved Mover. The conclusions of this chapter, which are really the climax of the *Physics*, are briefly: there is a first mover, which is unmoved, one, eternal, without parts and without magnitude and occupies the circumference of the first heaven; the First Unmoved Mover is the principle of movement to everything else, but specifically to the first heaven; since it is the first heaven which the First Unmoved Mover moves, the motion of the first heaven must be eternal, one, simple, regular and rotary.

38. *Phys.*, 259 b 20-260 a 19.

39. *Phys.*, 260 a 27.

40. *Phys.*, 260 b 25.

41. *Phys.*, 262 a 1-2.

42. *Phys.*, 264 b 19.

43. *Phys.*, 265 a 10.

44. *Phys.*, 265 a 14.

45. *Phys.*, 265 b 12.

46. *Phys.*, 267 b 25.

47. *Phys.*, 267 b 3.

48. *Phys.*, 267 b 8.

We have now reached an important stage in the development of Aristotle's natural theology. The motion of the first heaven has been explained by the existence and activity of a new, peculiar, and distinct type of being, i. e., by the First Unmoved Mover. For further information concerning this Being we must turn to the *Metaphysics*.

Since there is a science of being qua being and capable of existing apart, we must consider whether this is to be regarded as the same as physics or rather as different. Physics deals with the things that have a principle of movement in themselves; mathematics is theoretical, and is a science that deals with things that are at rest, but its subjects cannot exist apart. Therefore, about that which can exist apart and is unmovable there is a science different from both of these, if there is a substance of this nature (I mean separable and unmovable), as we shall try to prove there is. And if there is this kind of thing in the world, here must surely be the divine; and this must be the first and most important principle. Evidently, then, there are three kinds of theoretical sciences — physics, mathematics, theology. The class of theoretical sciences is the best, and of these the last-named is the best; for it deals with the highest of existing things, and each science is called better or worse in virtue of its proper object.⁴⁹

Aristotle's metaphysical treatises are the culmination of his entire system of thought; and the climax of his first philosophy is his conclusion that there is an unmovable substance, pure actuality, a divine being, God. In the early chapters of the *Metaphysics* Aristotle gives us his own appreciation of this science of first principles which ends in a knowledge of the First Cause of all things: the possession of Wisdom might be regarded as beyond human power. It might be viewed as a privilege of God, but Aristotle was of the opinion that the divine power cannot be jealous, and, therefore, no science is to be thought more honorable than Wisdom. For the most divine science is also the most honorable; and this science alone is, in two ways, most divine. For the science which it would be most meet for God to have is a divine science, and so is any science which deals with divine objects; and this science [Wisdom] alone has both these qualities, for 1) God is thought to be among the causes of all things and to be a first principle; and 2) such a science either God can have alone, or God above all others. All the sciences, indeed, are more necessary than this, but none is better.⁵⁰

49. *Met.*, 1064 a 28-1064 b 6.

50. *Met.*, 982 a 1-11.

The climax of Aristotle's divine science is found in *Metaphysics*, 1071b 3=1075a 19, and 1075b 37=1076a 4. These passages constitute the *locus classicus* of Aristotle's natural theology. In these pages Aristotle tells us something additional about the nature and the attributes of his First Unmoved Mover. The following is a selection of the more important statements:

It is necessary that there should be an eternal unmovable substance. Movement must always have existed. There must be a principle whose very essence is actuality. The object of desire and the object of thought move without being moved. Thought is moved by the object of thought. The final cause produces motion by being loved, and by that which it moves it moves all other things. The Unmoved Mover can in no way be otherwise than as it is. It is absolutely necessary. The heaven and the world of nature depend on such a principle.

And its life is such as the best which we enjoy, and enjoy for but a short time. For it is ever in this state (which we cannot be), since its actuality is also its pleasure. . . . And thought in itself deals with that which is best in itself, and that which is thought in the fullest sense with that which is best in the fullest sense. And thought thinks itself because it shares the nature of the object of thought, for it becomes an object of thought in coming into contact with and thinking its objects, so that thought and object of thought are the same. For that which is capable of receiving the object of thought, i. e., the essence, is thought. And it is active when it possesses this object. Therefore, the latter [possession] rather than the former [receptivity] is the divine element which thought seems to contain, and the act of contemplation is what is most pleasant and best. If, then, God is always in that good state in which we sometimes are, this compels our wonder; and if in a better, this compels it yet more. And God is in a better state. And life also belongs to God; for the actuality of thought is life, and God is that actuality; and God's essential actuality is life most good and eternal. We say, therefore, that God is a living being, eternal most good, so that life and duration continuous and eternal belong to God; for this is God.

It is clear, then, from what has been said that there is a substance which is eternal and unmovable and separate from sensible things. It has been shown also that this substance cannot have any magnitude, but is without parts and indivisible. For it produces movement through infinite time, but nothing finite has infinite power. And, while every magnitude is either finite or infinite, it cannot, for the above reason, have finite magnitude; and it cannot have infinite magnitude for there is no infinite magnitude at all. But it is also clear that it is impassive and unalterable; for all other changes are posterior to change of place. It is clear, then, why the First Mover has these attributes.⁵¹

51. *Met.*, Book XII, chapters 6 & 7.

That God's essence is the actuality of thought, and that His activity or life consists in thinking itself, is clear to Aristotle. But in chapter 9 of Book XII he tells us that "the nature of the divine thought involves certain problems; for while thought is held to be the most divine of things observed by us, the question what it must be in order to have that character involves difficulties." His solution is as follows:

Evidently, it thinks that which is most divine and precious, and it does not change. It must be itself that thought thinks (since it is the most excellent of things), and its thinking is a thinking on thinking. . . . As thought and the object of thought are not different in the case of things that have not matter, they will be the same, i. e., the divine thinking will be one with the object of its thought.⁵²

By way of recapitulation we may say at this point that Aristotle has succeeded in establishing the ultimate cause of the rotary motion of the first heaven; he does so by positing the First Unmoved Mover whose essence is pure actuality and whose activity is thought thinking itself. It moves the first heaven by its desirability. The First Mover is one. "The rule of many is not good; one is the ruler."⁵³

We remember that Aristotle the philosopher undertook the task of accounting for all observable motions in the universe. For living substances, soul is his explanation; for the first heaven, God. But in between were the seven planets, perceptible eternal bodies, with movements more numerous than the bodies themselves. To account for their various motions in a manner that would be consistent with his doctrine of the First Unmoved Mover was a very difficult problem even for Aristotle. It is perhaps correct to say that he never really settled it. The precise difficulty was caused by the astronomical data of Eudoxus and Callippus which Aristotle accepted. We find his attempt to solve the difficulties in the chapter 8 of Book XII.

We must not ignore the question whether we have to suppose one such substance or more than one, and if the latter, how many. . . . We must discuss the subject starting from the presuppositions and distinctions we have mentioned. The first principle or primary being is not movable either in itself or accidentally, but produces the primary eternal and single movement. And since that which is moved must be moved by something, and

52. *Met.*, 1074 b 15-1075 a 5.

53. *Met.*, 1076 a 5.

the First Mover must be in itself unmovable, and eternal movement must be produced by something eternal and a single movement by a single thing, and since we see that besides the simple spatial movement of the universe, which we say the first and unmovable substance produces, there are other spatial movements—those of the planets—which are eternal (for the body which moves in a circle is eternal and unresting), each of these movements also must be caused by a substance unmovable in itself and eternal. For the nature of the stars [i. e., fixed stars and planets] is eternal, being a kind of substance, and the mover is eternal and prior to the moved, and that which is prior to a substance must be a substance. Evidently, then, there must be substances which are of the same number as the movements of the stars, and in their nature eternal, and in themselves unmovable, and without magnitude. That the movers are substances, then, and that one of these is first and another second according to the same order as the movements of the stars, is evident.⁵⁴

In regard to the number of the motions of the planets, Aristotle tells us that we must have recourse to the astronomers. Following Callippus especially, Aristotle himself maintained that the planets exhibit fifty-five motions; and to account for these motions Aristotle posits fifty-five spheres. He distinguishes among the spheres "proper spheres" and "counteracting spheres." The following table illustrates how he reaches his total:

HEAVENLY BODY	<i>Proper Spheres</i>	<i>Counteracting Spheres</i>
Moon	5	} 16
Mercury	5	
Venus	5	
Sun	5	
Mars	5	
Jupiter	4	} 6
Saturn	4	
First Heaven	1 0
Total spheres	34	and 22

Having determined the number of the spheres to account for all planetary motions, Aristotle says: "Let this then be taken as the number of the spheres, so that both the unmovable and perceptible substances and principles may probably be taken as just so many; the assertion must of necessity be left to more powerful thinkers."⁵⁵

54. *Met.*, 1073 a 13-1073 b 3.

55. *Met.*, 1073 b 3-1074 a 17.

Aristotle has now accounted for all motions of the heavenly bodies, but his solution of the planetary motions makes the position of his First Unmoved Mover subject to difficulties. Instead of one Unmoved Mover we now have fifty-six, and the great disappointment is that Aristotle says practically nothing of the relation of the First Unmoved Mover to the other fifty-five. God is the First Unmoved Mover and is the cause of the motion of the one first heaven—but that is virtually all that Aristotle was able to say. To make the task of establishing whether Aristotle was a monotheist or a polytheist more difficult, in the closing paragraph of chapter 8 of Book XII, he seems to attribute some significance to the tradition handed down from posterity, that these fifty-five unmoved movers are gods.

These, then, are Aristotle's positive tenets of natural theology. It would be strange, indeed, if this particular department of Aristotle's learning were so convincing as to exclude subsequent question or denial. As a matter of fact, like so many other points of his philosophy, his doctrine of the First Unmoved Mover has been much disputed and criticized.

The stock charges against Aristotle's idea of God are quite well known. They may be found in any commentary. The following is gathered from Fuller⁵⁶ who follows Zeller and Ross.

1. *The philosophical difficulties:*

(a) There is a question as to whether or not the active intellect is to be identified with God. It seems that it should be, since it possesses all the qualifications of an Unmoved Mover. Fuller says that Eudemus, the disciple of Aristotle, and Alexander of Aphrodisias thought that Aristotle meant to identify the two. But Aristotle himself nowhere says that they are to be identified.

(b) Aristotle's God is thinking about thinking, but what He is thinking about can be described only in negative terms. It cannot be anything that any category of our experience could fit.

(c) The theory of the hermetically sealed God affects not only the divine mind, but the divine power as well, and makes it diffi-

56. B. A. G. Fuller, *History of Greek Philosophy*, vol. *Aristotle*, pp. 141-150.

cult to conceive Him as filling the all-important rôle of Unmoved Mover.

(d) The most serious and disqualifying charge is that, if the Unmoved Mover is so shut away from the universe as to be totally unaware of its existence, it is difficult to see how the universe can in any way be aware of Him, much less how it can be thrilled and moved by the appeal of His perfections.

2. *The religious objections:*

(a) It is hard to leave out of a divine experience sensation, passion, emotion, and the attendant pleasures, but above all omniscience.

(b) Our normal vision of God must go blind.

(c) The religious value of any God will be largely in the reciprocal interest He shows in us, in our affairs and our needs.

(d) There is no redemptive aspect to Aristotle's theology.

(e) Aristotle's God is not personal.

Having presented these objections, Fuller has this to say:

All this criticism of Aristotle from the point of view of the philosophy of religion, though sound enough, is not altogether fair. For the mature Aristotle was not a particularly religious man, and the God he preached was not a particularly religious God. Aristotle was preeminently a scientist, and his theology drew but a minor part of its inspiration from moral and emotional needs.⁵⁷

By way of conclusion to this study, a few personal impressions are offered. One feels that it is true that Aristotle's notion of God is none too clear or coherent. Still it seems to serve his particular purpose. If we attempt to appraise it as a concept that might be declared consonant with the Supreme Being of Christian Revelation, we must make a distinction between what he states expressly, and what may be implied in his principles. We look in vain in the writings of Aristotle for a personal, self-conscious God — for a God Who is omniscient and particularly provident, Who is the unqualified efficient cause of the world. Whether or not we can deduce these divine attributes from the notion of the First Unmoved Mover becomes a matter of interpretation. Among the earliest Greek com-

57. *Ibid.*, p. 150.

mentators we find a divergence of opinion on this question; and this has remained true down through the ages, even to the present day.

An interesting study would be to compile the commentaries of the great Schoolmen on Aristotle's natural theology. The two opinions which follow demonstrate how widely divergent are opinions on the use which the medieval scholastics were able to make of Aristotle.

In Fuller's book,⁵⁸ we find this amusing passage:

It may seem peculiar that the medieval Church, after some backing and filling, finally accepted Aristotle as her official "Guide, philosopher and friend"; especially as she had rejected Plato because she suspected him of holding unsound views about the resurrection of the body (cfr. Taylor, *Aristotle*, p. 50). That she apparently preferred a man who did not even believe in personal immortality or in a personal God was due largely to the good offices of the Arabian go-betweens who had made the match. She knew her Aristotle mostly through Latin translations of Arabic translations of the original Greek, which at the time she had not the interest, the learning, or the means to verify (cfr. Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship*, 2nd ed., I, ch. XXX, pp. 561, ff.). And her knowledge was further garbled by glosses and interpretations that presented him as a possible and even a desirable party. The discovery of the true character of the man for whom she had thrown over Plato, and with whom she had been living for some three hundred years in happy if somewhat sinful ignorance, was one of the annoyances to which she was subjected by the revelations of the Renaissance (Sandys, *op. cit.*, pp. 109, ff.).

Gilson presents a much more temperate, a saner view.⁵⁹

Among the theologians in the thirteenth century, one party, the smaller, was so profoundly impressed by the Averroist Aristotelianism, that they saw in this doctrine the final and complete truth. They accepted it, therefore, with all its inherent consequences, and there were clerics who actually taught at Paris that there is no providence, that the world is eternal, that there is but a single intelligence for the whole human race and that, in short, there is for man neither freedom nor immortality. Such were Boëthius of Dacia, and especially Siger of Brabant.

The other party, far more numerous, felt a repugnance which varied much according to each mind, against these damnable innovations and they entrenched themselves more strongly than ever behind the Platonic-Augustinian philosophy which at that moment was the only traditional philosophy of the Church. Here the most remarkable personality is without doubt St. Bonaventure.

58. *Ibid.*, pp. 149-150.

59. *The Philosophy of St. Thomas*, pp. 15-18.

But a third attitude yet remained possible. The doctrine of Aristotle — and this was evident to any Christian thinker — showed serious lacunae in its metaphysical parts. To say the least, this philosophy left the two problems of the creation and of the immortality of the soul in the air. On the other hand, the strictly physical and natural part of the doctrine presented a system incomparably superior to the fragmentary and little-coherent solutions proposed by the older Schoolmen. This superiority of the Aristotelian physics was so crushing that in the eyes of clear-sighted minds it could not fail to obtain the assent of reason and to secure the ultimate triumph of the doctrine. Was it, therefore, not an act of grave imprudence to persist in maintaining positions which were foredoomed to fall? The triumph of Aristotle was inevitable, and wisdom urged that steps be taken to make this triumph a help to Christian thought, rather than a menace. In other words, the task to be undertaken was to christianize Aristotle: to re-introduce exemplarism and the creation into the system, to maintain providence, to reconcile the unity of substantial form with the immortality of the soul . . . to show that these great truths of Christianity find in the *Physics* of Aristotle their natural support and their strongest foundation.

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THE MEDIEVAL CRISIS OF LOGIC AND THE AUTHOR OF THE *CENTILOQUIUM* ATTRIBUTED TO OCKHAM

THE purpose of the following study is twofold: to show that there was a crisis of Logic in Scholasticism, especially of the fourteenth century; and to show that while Ockham is not, the author of the *Centiloquium* is a representative of logical scepticism. The basis of our study will be the text of the *Centiloquium* edited in the previous numbers of FRANCISCAN STUDIES.

Since Ockham was especially interested in the field of Logic, and since the author of the *Centiloquium* always attacks his problems from a logical point of view, an essential doctrinal difference between both will certainly be a most conclusive criterion for eliminating Ockham as a possible author of the *Centiloquium*. Such an essential difference is found as regards at least two logical problems which are basic, namely, the problem whether or not Logic is formal, and the problem whether or not the principle of the excluded middle is universally valid. Both problems are of interest at the present time, when research in Logic is making considerable progress. The present study will be confined to the medieval problem: Is Logic formal?

I. THE MEANING OF *Discursus Formalis*

There is considerable confusion among Neo-Scholastics as to the meaning of the expression "Formal Logic." Some of them reject this term;¹ others, apparently more faithful to Scholastic tradition, defend the usage of the expression and of its counterpart "Material Logic."² Neither side, however, would seem to be aware that it has no part in the spirit of Scholastic Logic, which in this case is the spirit of Aristotelian Logic. For neither Aristotle nor the Scholastics knew anything of a Formal Logic as opposed to Material Logic (Epistemology!). They knew only a science which was called

1. For instance, G. H. Joyce, S. J., *Principles of Logic* (Stonyhurst Philosophical Series), 3rd edn., pp. 12 *et seq.*

2. For instance, J. Maritain, *An Introduction to Logic* (Sheed and Ward, New York, 1937), pp. 8 *et seq.*

— not by Aristotle, but by the Scholastics — Logic, and was essentially formal. More precisely and more correctly, they knew one Logic which contains logical forms, namely, formal syllogisms or, more generally, formal discourses.

What is a formal discourse? Partially following H. Scholz,³ we may state that, according to Aristotle (that is to say, while it is not expressly taught by Aristotle it is easily abstracted from his treatment of logical problems), Logic deals with perfect logical forms. A mere logical form is an expression which contains at least one constant and one variable. Constants are expressions like "est," "omne," etc.; variables are indicated by letters. Therefore the expression "Omne A est album" would be a logical form. If we interpret A simply as an empty place into which any meaningful term can be put, this logical form is neither true nor false, but can become true or false, provided the variable be replaced by a suitable term.⁴ A perfect logical form, then, is an expression which contains only constants and variables, for instance: "A est B," or: "Omne A est B." Aristotelian Logic, however, does not deal with such simple perfect logical forms. It deals with a combination of them, namely, with a combination of at least three forms which we shall call F_1 , F_2 , F_3 , so that these three perfect forms constitute one expression in which, if the truth of F_1 and F_2 (or the premises) be affirmed, the truth of F_3 (or the conclusion) is affirmed also. This is performed by the logical operation which is called *sylogismus*, or inference. The inference, in its turn, has to be made under the guidance of certain rules, namely, the syllogistic rules of the different figures and modes which were formulated by Aristotle for the first time in history. The syllogistic rules guarantee that a syllogistic form always yields a true conclusion if the variables are replaced by suitable terms. The formality of Aristotelian Logic, therefore, is equivalent to the expression: Universal validity, regardless of the terms or the matter of the propositions.⁵

3. *Geschichte der Logik (Geschichte der Philosophie in Längsschnitten)* (herausgegeben von W. Moog, Berlin, 1931), pp. 3-4.

4. This is not exactly Aristotelian or Scholastic, for according to them the expression: *Omne odium est album*, is false; according to modern logicians, it is meaningless.

5. This can be applied to modern Logic also, though formality assumes another and more abstract meaning in mathematical Logic. Cf. the chapter on "Formality" in

Aristotelian, and consequently Scholastic, Logic is therefore essentially formal. And this character of formality is best expressed and emphasized by symbols which, indeed, were applied by Aristotle and the Scholastics, though still in a primitive way.

This idea of formality was to some extent in the mind of the author of the *Centiloquium* when he wrote: "Nullus discursus est formalis, cui poterunt inveniri termini, in quibus ratio, id est, in quibus praemissae similis discursus sunt verae et conclusio falsa" (Concl. 56). He evidently intends to say that a syllogism or any discourse cannot be called formal if its terms are replaced by others so that the premises are true and the conclusion becomes false; or, to express this in our terms: A syllogism is not formal if the variables in F_1 , F_2 , and F_3 are replaced by corresponding terms so that F_1 and F_2 are true, and F_3 is false. The author of the *Centiloquium* states correctly that this ideal of the formality of Logic was developed by Aristotle in the *Prior Analytics*, and that Aristotle does not regard any syllogism as formal as soon as an instance can be found in which true premises yield a false conclusion. And indeed, as Ockham remarks,⁶ this is the ultimate means by which Aristotle proves the validity of a syllogism.

As far as the present writer is aware, there can be no doubt that this is the commonly accepted doctrine of all Scholastics, though the exact formulation given by some may show defects. The most striking expression, however, is found in Adam Wodham: "Diceret, Aristoteles sic exemplificat: Omne B est A, omne C est B, igitur omne C est A, quasi diceret: applices ubi volueris, et similis syllogismus erit bonus. . . ."⁷

W. Van Orman Quine, *Mathematical Logic* (Norton, New York, 1940), pp. 283 et seq.

6. *Summa Logicae*, III (1) c. 4: "Ista narrata non possunt probari nisi per modum, quo probat Aristoteles, quod quatuor modi [sc., primae figurae] sunt utiles, per hoc quod non contingit inferre instantiam."

7. Adam Goddam (Wodham) *Super quatuor libros Sent.* (this is the abbreviation made by Henry of Oyta) (Paris, 1512), fol. 81va. Cf. for a similar expression Scotus, *Super 1. Elench.* q. 4, n. 3; ed. Vivès t. 2, pp. 5 et seq. For the Thomistic tradition, cf. the pseudothomistic *Summa Logicae*, Tract. VIII, c. 5: "In hoc opere tractetur de syllogismo simpliciter, scilicet de forma ipsius syllogismi inquantum syllogismus est, non applicando ad aliquam materiam; et ideo illa erit vera forma syllogismi, quae applicata cuicumque materiae semper si praemissae erunt verae, sequetur ex eis conclusio vera . . ." (ed. Mich. Maria, 1886, pp. 108 et seq.).

II. THE NON-FORMALITY OF ARISTOTELIAN LOGIC ACCORDING TO THE AUTHOR OF THE *Centiloquium*

The author of the *Centiloquium* unequivocally states: "Nullus discursus, quem Aristoteles vel aliquis antiquorum posuit, est formalis" (Concl. 56). The meaning of this negative conclusion admits of no doubt. Since *discursus* has to be taken in the sense of any inferential operation, it includes the *consequentiae* as well as the syllogisms. And since, for a medieval logician, a *discursus* stated by Aristotle or one of the old philosophers is equivalent to a *discursus* of the traditional Logic known in the Middle Ages, the negative conclusion just cited amounts to the statement: No *consequentia* and no syllogism of the traditional Logic is universally valid.

This is proved for different discourses:

(1) The *syllogismus expositivus* is not formal or universally valid. Aristotle used the *syllogismus expositivus* in order to prove valid modes of the third figure.⁸ Hence it must be most formal. But this syllogism meets with many difficulties when expressed in terms of the Blessed Trinity; e. g.,

"Haec essentia est Pater;
Haec essentia est Filius;
Ergo Filius est Pater."

The premises are true and are arranged correctly as to figure and mode; but the conclusion is false according to the teaching of the Church. Consequently, the syllogism is not valid, and not formal or universally true. The author of the *Centiloquium* does not expressly deny that the expository syllogism is valid in terms of creatures, though he simply states that this is the opinion of many; but he does deny that it holds in terms of the Blessed Trinity: "Quia quamvis multis appareat in materia naturali et in materia creata, non tamen tenet in materia increata et praecipue in propositionibus sive terminis divinae Trinitatis" (Concl. 55 C, ad primum). Of

8. It seems that the author of the *Centiloquium* confines the *syllogismus expositivus* to the third figure, as Ockham did, against the author of the *Summa Logicae* attributed to St. Thomas, and the author of the *Quaestiones in 1. Priorum* attributed to Duns Scotus.

course, Aristotle did not see this deficiency, for he had no knowledge of the mystery of the Blessed Trinity. Hence he believed that this discourse was universally valid. But after the time of Aristotle, and after this mystery was revealed, the "summi doctores theologici" found that this syllogism meets a particular case contrary to the general rule; that is to say, it is not formal (*loc. cit.*).

(2) Syllogisms of the first figure are not formal or universally valid. This again is proved by the author of the *Centiloquium* in giving true premises, arranged according to figure and mode, which yield a false conclusion. From among other instances, the following two may serve as illustrations:

"Omnis essentia divina est Pater;
Omnis Filius in divinis est essentia divina;
Ergo omnis Filius in divinis est Pater" (Concl. 56).

"Nullus Filius in divinis est Pater in divinis,
Haec essentia est Filius in divinis,
Ergo haec essentia non est Pater in divinis" (Concl. 55).

The same is true for a *syllogismus enthymematicus*, as shown in Concl. 61 C.

(3) A formal consequence is not valid. Formal consequences can hold between propositions or between terms. Of this latter type is the following: *Ab inferiori ad superius affirmative sine distributione, consequentia valet* ("Socrates is white," consequently "A man is white"). This formal consequence runs into a difficulty in the following cases: "Pater in divinis generat; ergo Deus generat;" or "Filius in divinis generatur; ergo essentia divina generatur" (Concl. 58). In all these instances, our author asserts, the consequence proceeds from the logical inferior to the logical superior, affirmatively and without (universal) distribution.

From all three statements it becomes evident that the author of the *Centiloquium* denies the character of formality or universal validity in Aristotelian Logic.

III. THE IDEA OF A SUPERNATURAL LOGIC ACCORDING TO THE AUTHOR OF THE *Centiloquium*

Not satisfied, however, with the denial of any formal discourse in Aristotelian Logic, the author proceeds to the idea of another

Logic, namely, a supernatural Logic which is formal.⁹ According to him, formality of Logic can be obtained by a supernatural rule. We read in Concl. 59: "In omni materia valet aliquis discursus formaliter qui ab aliquo philosophorum ponebatur, utpote discursus expositorius et discursus in modo et figura regulatus, quorum conclusiones vel consequentiae masculine vel neutraliter resolvuntur." This means: Aristotelian Logic can be made really formal and universally valid, if we formulate an additional rule which affects the grammatical subject of the conclusions, and this additional rule is formulated on the basis of revelation. This becomes clear in taking an example.

"Iste Pater in divinis generat;
Iste Pater in divinis est essentia divina."

Instead of concluding: "Essentia divina generat," we must conclude: "Aliqua Persona, quae est essentia divina, generat;" or "Aliquis, qui est essentia divina, generat."

The author of the *Centiloquium* gives more details of this supernatural Logic which, being irrelevant, we shall not consider here.

The universal validity of certain syllogisms with his additional rule is simply guaranteed by the declaration (*Extra*) *De Summa Trinitate*: "Pater est alius a Filio et Filius est alius a Patre, non tamen aliud" (Concl. 55 H, ad 6^m). In all the cases where he comes in conflict with this declaration, he applies his additional rule. Hence the decision of naturally valid or supernaturally valid has to be made entirely on theological grounds.

By way of summary, therefore, the author states: "Ex quibus omnibus plane sequitur, quod nullus discursus naturalis, id est naturaliter inventus, est formalis, sed aliquis discursus supernaturaliter inventus est formalis" (Concl. 59 B).

Let us add that the author of the *Centiloquium* does not deny the principle of contradiction. In Concl. 55 B (6) he formulates it as follows: "Contradictoria sibi invicem contradicentia respectu eiusdem significati non sunt simul vera." According to him, this law of contradiction is not violated in terms of the Blessed Trinity, be-

9. This has nothing to do with St. Bonaventure's idea of a Christian Logic in *Collationes in Hexaemeron*, I, 30; t. 5, p. 334.

cause the term *essentia* which can be predicated about one Person in one statement of identity and of another in another statement of identity — for instance, "Essentia divina est eadem Filio; Essentia divina est eadem Patri" — is not convertibly identical with each Person (*non est convertibiliter eadem*). The meaning of this "non-convertibility," however, is not explained by advocating any distinction in God. It is simply stated that though the one essence is identical with the one Person, nevertheless it is not true that it is identical with another Person (*non tamen est alicui alteri per se a Filio non eadem*). In any case, the author does not believe that his statements violate the principle of contradiction.

IV. OCKHAM AND THE UNIVERSAL VALIDITY OF ARISTOTELIAN LOGIC

The problem discussed by the author of the *Centiloquium*, and solved by him in a negative sense, was not of merely academic interest in the Middle Ages. It is, in fact, one case of the many clashes between reason and revelation which proved to be stimulating factors in the progress of Scholasticism. And progress there is, even in the fourteenth century, and even as regards the problem of the relation between reason and faith.¹⁰ It is a fact that the scientific culture of the fourteenth century was far ahead of that of the thirteenth. And this fact accounts, to a great extent, for a deeper and more penetrating treatment of the relation between reason and faith. If Scholasticism is always characterized as a *Fides quaerens intellectum*, then the first and most general problem will be to ascertain whether the statements of revelation are susceptible of a rational process, and to what extent; in other words, to ascertain whether the statements which cannot be known by natural reason, and which are given to us by unerring Truth, can be treated logically and can be instances of logical forms. Only if this question be answered

10. Cf. A. Lang, *Die Wege der Glaubensbegründung bei den Scholastikern des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters, Bd. 30, H. 1-2) (Münster, 1930) p. 253: "So hat auch das 14. Jahrhundert das Problem der Glaubensbegründung um ein gutes Stück der Lösung näher gebracht. . . ." On page 241 the author remarks that looking back at his research on the fourteenth century, "die erste Beobachtung, die sich aufdrängt [ist], dass die Scholastik des 14. Jahrhunderts zum grossen Teil besser ist als ihr Ruf." Lang, like Card. Fr. Ehrle, S. J., was, however, not able to appreciate the excellent Logic of the fourteenth century.

affirmatively is speculative theology safe and scientifically justified. If the answer is negative, the road to the *Credo quia absurdum* is open.

The great Scholastics of the thirteenth century took the universal validity of Logic for granted. After a rapid development of Logic under the powerful influence of the *Summulae Logicales* of Petrus Hispanus (Pope John XXI),¹¹ the problem became more acute. While certain Scholastics gave up hope for a universally valid Logic, Ockham, with the majority of the Scholastics, defended the formal character of Logic as regards the statements of revelation.

(1) The *sylogismus expositivus* is valid, regardless of its matter. In *Summa Logicae*, III (1), c. 16, Ockham deals with the *sylogismus expositivus* as an appendix to the discussion of modes of the third figure. Here he gives the following characterization of it.¹² The premises of a *sylogismus expositivus* must be two singular propositions; these two propositions must be arranged according to the third figure (therefore, the minor must be affirmative); the conclusion can be either singular or particular or indefinite, but never universal. In order to safeguard himself and Logic from the disaster which threatened as the result of the teaching of certain theologians, Ockham adds: the subject of the singular propositions must be a term which really stands for, or "supposits," one thing which is not several things, and which is not really the same as something which is several absolute or relative things, and which only and precisely stands for one such thing.

The last precision is necessary. For if the subject term — be it a demonstrative pronoun, or a proper noun, or a demonstrative pronoun with some other term — stands for something which, though

11. The error of Prantl, still maintained by Bartholomaeus Roth (see below), according to whom Petrus Hispanus translated his work from a Greek original, is definitely eliminated by M. Grabmann, *Handschriftliche Forschungen und Funde zu den philosophischen Schriften des Petrus Hispanus, des späteren Papstes Johannes XXI* (†1272) (*Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften Philosophisch-historische Abteilung*, 1936, Heft 9) (München, 1937).

12. "Est igitur sciendum, quod syllogismus expositivus est, quando arguitur ex duobus singularibus in tertia figura, quarum singularium subiectum supponit pro aliquo uno numero, quod non est plures res nec est idem realiter cum aliquo, quod est plures res. Et quia in creaturis nulla una res numero est plures res realiter quaecumque, ideo generaliter quando arguitur ex propositionibus singularibus praedicto modo, fit syllogismus expositivus, hoc addito, quod minor sit affirmativa. . . ."

in itself unique and simple and numerically one and most singular, nevertheless is several things, then the consequence cannot be valid by reason of the *sylogismus expositivus*. Ockham proves this by taking an analogical case. Such a term which stands for one thing that is several things is similar to a common term, e. g., "homo." If we predicate about this term two proper names, for instance: "Homo est Sortes," "Homo est Plato," the conclusion "Plato est Sortes" would not be true and the consequence would not be valid. For in this case one premise is verified for one man, and the other can be verified for another man. Another analogical case which is developed on the basis of Platonic realism may show the same defect. Let us presuppose that the term "Haec humanitas" stands precisely for one thing, and that nevertheless Plato and Sortes are several men. If then we should reason: "Haec humanitas est Sortes; Haec humanitas est Plato; Igitur Plato est Sortes," the conclusion would be false and the consequence would not be valid. Since we presupposed that Plato and Sortes are distinct, and since each premise is verified, either by the fact that Sortes is Sortes or that Plato is Plato, it can only follow: "Ergo haec essentia est tam Plato quam Sortes."

This latter case is to some extent given in syllogisms in terms of the Blessed Trinity. For there we have terms which signify really different Persons, and we have one term which signifies a reality which is not really distinct from each Person. Hence the following syllogism cannot be a *sylogismus expositivus*:

"Haec essentia est Pater;
Haec essentia est Filius;
Igitur Filius est Pater."

For the term "essentia" stands for one thing which is three Persons; and though the term "Pater" stands for the divine essence, the term "Pater" does not stand for the Son, etc. Therefore these terms as such cannot enter a valid *sylogismus expositivus*; and they cannot enter because they are of a special and unique nature. This idea could be expressed in other words by saying that terms of the Blessed Trinity are not always suitable replacements of variables in a *sylogismus expositivus*. Consequently, the validity of the syl-

logism cannot be disputed, but the correctness of the replacement of the variables must be disputed.

The universal validity of the *syllogismus expositorius* is expressly stated by Ockham on another occasion. In *Summa Logicae*, II (c. 27), the *Venerabilis Inceptor* proves a conversion of modal propositions with the help of the *syllogismus expositorius*. This reminds him that the validity of this syllogism has been disputed by contemporary theologians. Against them he emphatically states:

Est autem probatio sufficiens, quia syllogismus expositorius est per se evidens nec indiget ulteriori probatione. Et ideo multum errant, qui negant talem syllogismum in quacumque materia. . . . Et quia syllogismi expositorii, qui sunt ex se evidentes, frequenter negantur a modernis theologis, et ideo contra tales non est disputandum cum negent per se nota, ideo aliquialiter disgreduendo a proposito, ponam exempla, in quibus non est syllogismus expositorius, quamvis videatur.

Then Ockham enumerates a long list of syllogisms which have the appearance of a *syllogismus expositorius*, and he unmaskes them as fallacies. From among these, he discusses at length a so-called *syllogismus expositorius* in terms of the Blessed Trinity, which he reduces to a *fallacia consequentis* or *accidentis*.

(2) Every syllogism which is governed by the rule of *Dictum de omni vel de nullo* is formally valid. Since the syllogisms of the first figure are directly governed by this rule, they are most formal. This is shown by Ockham in *Summa Logicae*, III (1), cc. 4-5. In this section, too, Ockham discusses terms of the Blessed Trinity which sometimes prevent such a syllogism from being governed by the universal rule. Such a syllogism would be:

"Omnis essentia divina est Pater;
Filius est essentia divina;
Ergo Filius est Pater."

Ockham acknowledges readily that Aristotle would have admitted this syllogism as valid and as governed by the *Dictum de omni*. The reason for this, however, is that Aristotle did not admit, or at least did not know of, such terms: "Quia non posuit unicam rem simplicem esse plures res distinctae realiter." Theologians, on the other hand, do admit such terms, and therefore they must deny that the above-mentioned syllogism is regulated by the *Dictum de omni*:

Sed Theologi, qui ponunt secundum veritatem unam rem numero esse plures res, quia dicunt quod essentia divina simplex et indivisibilis est plures personae distinctae realiter, habent dicere, quod praedicti discursus non valent nec regulantur per dici de omni vel de nullo.

On the basis of theology it is easy to show that this syllogism is not ruled by the *Dictum de omni*, because in saying "Omnis essentia divina est Pater," it is not meant that we can predicate the term "Pater" about everything which can be predicated about the subject "essentia divina." For we also predicate about the essence the term "Filius," but we do not say: "Filius est Pater."¹³

From this we again gather that Ockham does not deny the character of formality in any valid Aristotelian syllogism, but he denies that certain terms are suitable replacements in valid perfect forms. The fact that certain terms are not suitable replacements, however, can be known only by revelation, and this for the obvious reason that the terms themselves are known only by revelation.

(3) The *fallacia accidentis* (or *consequentis*) is easily committed in terms of the Blessed Trinity. If certain syllogisms in terms of the Blessed Trinity yield a false conclusion, and their formality is admitted, then there must be a fallacy. This fallacy, according to Ockham, is the *fallacia accidentis* or *consequentis*.

A *fallacia accidentis* is a fallacy which concerns terms. Ockham explains in his treatment of this fallacy that *accidens* has to be taken in the sense of *term*, either of the subject or of the predicate term. Every term which can be the subject or predicate as regards another term, is its *accidens*. The reason of deception or of the *apparentia fallaciae* is found in the identity of predication which is assumed

13. "Et ratio est quia per istam: omnis essentia divina est Pater, non denotatur, quod de quocumque dicitur hoc subiectum essentia divina, de eodem dicatur hoc praedicatum Pater. Tunc enim necessario iste syllogismus regularetur per dici de omni: omnis essentia divina est Pater, Filius est essentia divina, igitur Filius est Pater. Sed ista esset tunc falsa: omnis essentia divina est Pater, sicut ista est falsa: de quocumque dicitur hoc subiectum essentia divina, de eodem dicitur hoc praedicatum Pater. Sed per istam: omnis essentia divina est Pater, denotatur, quod omne illud, quod est omnis res absoluta et relativa quae est essentia, est Pater, et hoc est verum. Sed tunc si uniformiter acciperetur minor, ipsa esset falsa; tunc enim per istam: Filius est essentia divina, denotaretur, quod Filius esset quaelibet res respectiva quae est essentia divina, quod falsum est, quia non est Pater, et tamen essentia divina est Pater..." (*loc. cit.*, c. 4). This is condensed to the rule: "Quando per maiorem non denotatur praedicatum vere affirmari vel vere negari de pronomine demonstrante quodcumque quod est realiter idem cum significato per subiectum, tunc accipiendo 'sub' aliquid tale, non erit syllogismus regulatus per dici de omni vel de nullo" (*loc. cit.*, c. 5).

between the two terms because they are predicated about each other. Because we find that one term is predicated affirmatively or negatively about another term, we believe that whatever is affirmed or denied of the one is affirmed or denied of the other also. This, however, is not necessary; hence the fallacy. Therefore the fallacy consists in the connection of two terms of the premises in the conclusion, though this connection is not warranted by the premises.¹⁴ For instance, it is not necessary to unite the terms "asinus" and "homo" in the conclusion because they were united in the premises: "Homo est animal" and "Asinus est animal." This general rule, however, needs a specification as to why, in certain cases, the connection of terms is not warranted.

Ockham distinguishes two forms of the *fallacia accidentis*, of which the first is of special interest to us. This fallacy is committed if the premises are arranged as to figure, but not as to mode, according to the general rules. In order to exclude such fallacies, the rules of Aristotle are sufficient, except in one case, and that is the case of certain syllogisms in terms of the Blessed Trinity. These theological terms, of course, need a theological characterization which prevents a logical disaster.

Et debet specialis regula assignari talis: Quia una essentia est plures Personae, quae Personae sunt distinctae inter se, non oportet quod omne nomen Personae, de quo praedicatur nomen essentiae, praedicetur de nomine alterius Personae.

Because the one essence is several Persons who are really distinct, it does not follow that the predicates which are predicated about the same subject — namely, this essence in three Persons — are predicated about each other also.

This theological rule has to be applied only in cases where theology tells us that it must be applied. It must be applied, according to a device given by St. Anselm, where an opposition of the relations is involved. In all other cases it must not be applied.

Propter quod ubi non obviat relationis oppositio, quod conceditur de una Persona, concedendum est de alia. Ubi autem obviat relationis opposi-

14. "Et responsio generalis ad omnes paralogismos accidentis est dicere, quod non est necesse conclusionem sequi ex praemissis, hoc est, non est necesse praedicatum conclusionis dici de subiecto conclusionis propter unionem illorum in praemissis cum aliquo uno" (*Summa Logicae*, III (4), c. 11).

tio, non est concedendum de qualibet Persona, quod de una conceditur. Et ad hoc semper est aspiciendum in respondendo ad discursus ex terminis importantibus divinas Personas (*loc. cit.*).

It is obvious, and expressly stated by Ockham on several occasions, that we know of this peculiarity of these terms only by revelation. And nobody, certainly no theologian, can deny that — if we set aside the doubtful rationalism of Richard of St. Victor. But — and this is also clear from Ockham's teachings and his explanations given on many occasions — this peculiarity of these terms does not affect Aristotelian Logic in its formal character; it simply prevents us from putting these terms into certain valid forms of syllogisms. The structure of these syllogisms is not affected. Logic, therefore, is formal. That is to say, it is universally valid whether the terms applied be terms of created or uncreated things. This was Ockham's position from the beginning to the end of his philosophical career.¹⁵

(4) The *distinctio formalis* is the safeguard of the formality of Logic. Ockham does not sacrifice Logic for a theological irrationalism. Instead, he escapes into the only possible refuge, namely, the mystery of the Blessed Trinity itself. His guide is Duns Scotus, and his hiding-place is the *distinctio formalis* or the *non-identitas formalis*. Though Scotus did not actually introduce the idea of a *distinctio formalis* into Theology and Philosophy,¹⁶ he certainly is the most powerful and unrestricted defender of this greatly disputed distinction. Ockham is much less enthusiastic about this distinction, which is so difficult to understand; and if he had seen a way of avoiding it he would undoubtedly have abandoned it. But, rather than endanger Logic and the highest principle of reason, the principle of contradiction, he preferred to follow Scotus. If the statements: "Paternitas non est Filiatio," and "Paternitas est essentia,"

15. This is clear on the evidence of texts taken from the *Summa Logicae*, which was one of Ockham's latest non-polemical work. The same teaching is found even in his first work, the *Ordinatio*. The following text should suffice: "Et quando dicitur, quod omne argumentum [falsum] peccat in materia vel in forma — Concedo, quamvis hoc non possit sciri evidenter." This is explained in the addition of the second redaction: "Unde illud argumentum: essentia divina est Pater, essentia divina est Filius... peccat in forma; et tamen nullus potest de communi lege evidenter sciri, quod illud argumentum peccat in forma, sicut nullus potest evidenter congoscere de communi lege, quod una res absoluta est plures Personae relativae distinctae realiter... (*1 Sent.*, prol., q. 3 princ., sive 7 in ord. Q.).

16. Cf. B. Jansen, S. J., "Beiträge zur geschichtlichen Entwicklung der *Distinctio formalis*," *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* (Innsbruck), vol. 53 (1929), pp. 371 et seq., and 517 et seq.

and "Filiatio est essentia," have any meaning as to the reality they concern, they must mean that "Paternitas" and "Filiatio" point to really distinct relations; and, consequently, that the predication of "Paternitas" or "Filiatio" about "essentia" cannot be a predication of formal identity; and, further, that there must be between the "Paternitas" or the "Filiatio" and the "essentia" a distinction of formal non-identity.¹⁷ This formal non-identity between the essence and the three Persons which are one and the same essence, prevents us from an unrestricted predication of identity and enables us to reduce certain false syllogisms in terms of the Blessed Trinity to a *fallacia accidentis*.

(5) Ockham did not deny the principle of contradiction. The *distinctio formalis* saves Ockham's Logic as to its character of universal validity, but does it save the principle of contradiction as well? From what has been said, it should be clear that Ockham intended to save the basic principle of contradiction by the formal distinction. It is very surprising, therefore, and it adds a new example to the collection of careless judgments passed upon Ockham, that an otherwise excellent work on the *distinctio formalis* in Francis of Mayronis¹⁸ should picture Ockham as a representative of those who denied the validity of the principle of contradiction in God. The author is able to quote some marginal notes of an old manuscript of Mayronis which refer this opinion to Ockham; and there is a strong possibility that this remark can be found in manu-

17. While Scotus speaks of a *distinctio formalis* and of *non-identitas formalis*, Ockham admits the *distinctio formalis* only in the negative sense: "Non est aliud dicere, quod essentia et Personae distinguuntur formaliter secundum unum intellectum, nisi quod essentia est tres Personae et Persona non est tres Personae. Similiter nihil aliud intelligo per istam: essentia et paternitas distinguuntur formaliter nisi istam propositionem: essentia est filiatio, et paternitas non est filiatio, et tamen paternitas est essentia. Similiter: paternitatem et spirationem activam distingui formaliter non est aliud quam dicere, quod paternitas non est filiatio, et quod spiratio activa est filiatio, et tamen quod paternitas est spiratio activa. Et ita universaliter: de aliquibus verificari distingui formaliter non est aliud quam de uno istorum aliquid vere affirmari et de alio vere negari, et tamen unum illorum vere affirmari de alio contingit sine omni variatione et aequivocatione alicuius vel verificatione pro diversis, sicut contingit in particularibus et indefinitis..." (*Summae Logicae*, II, c. 2).

18. Bartholomaeus Roth, O. F. M., *Franz von Mayronis, Sein Leben, seine Werke, seine Lehre vom Formalunterschied in Gott* (*Franziskanische Forschungen*, Heft 3) (Werl, 1936), p. 330: "Als Vertreter der Ansicht, dass zwar für die Philosophie nichts zugleich Eines und Vieles sein könne, wohl aber in der Theologie, die ja lehre, dass 1-3 sei, lässt sich Ockham feststellen." The author may to some extent be excused for this error, as he used as his main source Prantl who believed the *Centiloquium* to be an authentic work of Ockham's.

scripts of other Scholastics as well. For there was in the fourteenth century among some Scholastics a persistent conviction that Ockham denied this principle. The reason for this view, however, is not that Ockham anywhere expressly denied the principle of contradiction, but rather (and this should surprise a Scotist!) that he taught the *distinctio formalis*. Holkot and Gregory a Rimini¹⁹ cannot see anything but a flat contradiction in the *distinctio formalis*. And for this reason they allege against Ockham, as well as Scotus, a violation of the principle of contradiction. This fact at least should caution Scotists against condemning Ockham for a doctrine which he has in common with Scotus.

Yet we will admit that Ockham's expressions could suggest to a careless reader that he excluded the principle of contradiction from God; or that he admitted that contradictory statements can be made about God, in the sense that the same in exactly the same sense is affirmed and denied in God. We read, for instance, in *I Sent.*, d. 1, q. 5 E:

Difficillimum est intelligere contradictoria verificari de eadem re, nec est hoc ponendum nisi propter solam fidem; ergo hoc non est ponendum, nisi ubi fides compellit; sed fides non compellit ad aliquid ponendum nisi quod habetur ex Scriptura Sacra vel ex determinatione Ecclesiae vel evidenter et formaliter infertur ex talibus. . . .

Does the expression *contradictoria verificari de eadem re* mean that the same in exactly the same sense is denied and affirmed in God? Ockham certainly never taught such arrant nonsense. And when the *Venerabilis Inceptor* uses the expression "One thing is three things," he does not mean that one essence is three essences; he means that one essence is in three Persons, of which each one is really distinct from the others, and each one really the same as the essence. Therefore, to simplify his formula to the impossibility "1=3" is an elementary fallacy and should be left to Averroes and some modern objectors. The problem which Ockham views is not how "1=3" can be possible, but how one thing can be three things — i. e., three Persons — and how, nevertheless, each Person can be the same essence. Ockham sees very well the gravity and intricacy of the problem. If contradiction is the most powerful way

19. Cf. *infra* in the historical discourse.

to prove a real distinction, in case we have a simple denial of an affirmation as regards real things and provided no linguistic qualification admits the verification of this affirmation and denial at the same time, then we have to conclude to a real distinction wherever we verify contradictory statements. This rule is sufficient as regards all creatures and many facts in God. But as to some statements about the Blessed Trinity the case is different. There we have the choice either to deny the validity of the principle of contradiction, or to admit a distinction which is not a mental distinction and not a real distinction — namely, the *distinctio non-identitatis formalis*. Ockham chooses the latter alternative. Hence his proof of the *distinctio formalis* is the Blessed Trinity itself; and his reason is to safeguard the principle of contradiction.²⁰

Ockham, however, is well aware that he does not give a solution of the difficulty, if solution means the elimination of the problem by reducing it to better-known statements. For the *distinctio formalis* is a mystery of the same degree as the mystery of the Blessed Trinity itself.

Quia tamen est difficillima [sc., the *distinctio formalis*] ad ponendum ubique, non credo eam esse faciliorem ad tenendum quam Trinitatem Personarum cum unitate essentiae, ideo non debet poni, nisi ubi evidenter sequitur ex traditis in Scriptura Sacra vel determinatione Ecclesiae, propter cuius auctoritatem debet omnis ratio captivari... (*I Sent.*, d. 2, q. 1 F).

But from this, as we have seen, Ockham does not conclude to an irrationality in God or to the *Credo quia absurdum*. He concludes to a mode of non-identity in God which, though it cannot be grasped by any human understanding, nevertheless excludes a violation of the principle of contradiction. We may object to Ockham — but,

20. "Contradictio est via potissima ad probandum distinctionem realem, quando ita est, quod est negatio simpliciter, ita quod per nullam circumlocutionem potest alterum contradictoriorum verificari de illo a quo negatur. Sed quando per talem circumlocutionem contingit alterum contradictoriorum verificari de illo a quo negatur, tunc tantum erit via et est via ad probandum distinctionem formalem. Et sic est in proposito; quia quamvis haec sit vera: paternitas non est communicabilis, haec tamen est vera: paternitas est illa res quae est communicabilis. Similiter, quamvis haec non sit vera: Pater est Filius, tamen haec est vera: Pater est illa res quae est Filius, quia Pater est illa essentia quae est Filius. Et universaliter, quando ita est, tunc est illa distinctio possibilis: sed numquam ita est, nisi in Deo, et ideo est in solo Deo ponenda. Unde dico, quod non potest esse distinctio formalis nec talis contradictio verificari, nisi ubi sunt distinctae res realiter, quae tamen sunt una res realiter, quod solum est possibile de Personis divinis, quia sunt tres Personae reales distinctae, et tamen sunt una res, quia sunt una essentia numero" (*I Sent.*, d. 2, q. 11, O).

in that event, to Scotus as well — that he implicitly violated the principle of contradiction; but to allege against him that he intentionally denied that principle is an historical error. My personal opinion is that he neither intended to deny the principle of contradiction, nor denied it even implicitly.

V. THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE AUTHOR OF THE *Centiloquium* AND OCKHAM

The differences between the author of the *Centiloquium* and Ockham are much more far-reaching than at first glance would appear. The main ones are as follows:

(1) The author of the *Centiloquium* states: Logic as developed by Aristotle is not formal and universally valid. Ockham, however, states that Aristotelian Logic is essentially formal and universally valid.

(2) The author of the *Centiloquium* states: The *sylogismus expositivus*, when applied to terms and propositions about the Blessed Trinity, has no defect, and nevertheless is not valid. Ockham states that in these cases there is a defect which can be unmasked as a *fallacia accidentis*.

(3) The author of the *Centiloquium* states: A formally valid syllogism can be obtained by an additional supernatural rule which concerns changes in the nature of the conclusion. Ockham, however, knows nothing of such an additional rule. He simply sounds a warning as to the terms of the Blessed Trinity. Because these terms are of a unique nature, not known (of course) to Aristotle but known only to theologians, they are therefore not suitable replacements of variables in formally valid syllogisms.

(4) The uniqueness of terms of the Blessed Trinity is expressed by Ockham when he advocates the *distinctio non-identitatis formalis*. The author of the *Centiloquium*, on the other hand, does not mention any distinction; he states only that certain terms are not convertible.

These differences between the author of the *Centiloquium* and Ockham are of such a nature that, historically speaking, an identification of Ockham with the author of the *Centiloquium* is impossible. A change of mind on the part of Ockham is excluded, be-

cause he has substantially the same teaching in his first work, the *Ordinatio*, and in one of his last philosophical writings, the *Summa Logicae*.

VI. THE HISTORICAL POSITION OF THE AUTHOR OF THE *Centiloquium* AND OF OCKHAM

In this final section we shall try to indicate the group of Scholastics to which Ockham belongs, and that to which the author of the *Centiloquium* belongs. Only a short and necessarily incomplete outline will be given.

The thirteenth century Scholastics, at least implicitly, believed in the formality of Logic as regards the mystery of the Blessed Trinity. However, the first one to realize the gravity of the problem involved was, as it seems, Scotus "qui alios in subtilitate iudicii excelebat" (Ockham, *I Sent.*, d. 2, q. 6 B). He deals with our problem *in extenso* in *Ox.*, I, d. 2, q. 7, nn. 47 *et seq.* (Viv. ed., t. 8, pp. 630 *et seq.*). His solution is slightly different from that of Ockham, since he unmasks certain syllogisms in terms of the Blessed Trinity as *fallaciae figurae dictionis*, though he admits that they can be *fallaciae accidentis* as well.

The unknown author of the *Quaestiones in libros Priorum* (which have been attributed to Scotus) maintains the formality of Logic and shows in particular that it holds for the *sylogismus expositorius* (cf. *op. cit.*, q. 11: "Utrum syllogismus expositorius teneat gratia formae" — Viv. ed., t. 2, pp. 108 *et seq.*). According to him, the *sylogismus expositorius* is not confined to the third figure. This, however, is a matter of mere terminology.

Within the Scotistic school, the most vigorous defender of the formality of Logic is Francis of Mayronis. His first question of the *Conflatus* (ed. Basel, 1489) is a masterpiece of formal treatment of the principle of contradiction. Other texts relevant to our problem have been published by Fr. Bartholomaeus Roth, O. F. M.,²¹ whose work contains many historical details relative to our topic.

To this Scotistic group of defenders of the formal character of Logic Ockham belongs also, because he too acknowledges the neces-

21. *Op. cit.*, esp. pp. 336-347 (*Quodl.*, I).

sity of a *distinctio formalis*, though, like many other Scotists, in the negative form.

Closely related to Ockham is Adam Wodham, O. F. M., who is usually called an Ockhamist, though strictly he should be considered as belonging to no particular school. His discussion of the problem of the formality of Logic is found in *I Sent.*, d. 33, q. 3 (ed. cit., foll. 81 *et seq.*): "Utrum sit aliqua regula vel ars, per quam consequenter solvi possunt paralogismi facti circa materiam Trinitatis et talibus similes." The formal distinction is stated by him in the first question of distinction 33, where he says: "Octava conclusio: Deitas non est formaliter vel per se primo modo aliqua Persona divina." Wodham's criticism of Scotus and Ockham regards more the formulation of the solution than the solution itself.

Gregory of Rimini, likewise an Ockhamist, criticizes Ockham severely, and thinks that Ockham's solution implies a denial of the universal validity of Logic. He defends the formal character of Logic but denies, however, the *distinctio formalis*.²² Gregory of Rimini is sometimes enumerated among the defenders of the *distinctio formalis*. But this seems to be an error, because he denies any distinction *a parte rei*. Let the texts speak for themselves:

Secunda [conclusio]: quod deitas nullo modo distinguitur ex natura rei a proprietate personali, sic quod extra animam deitas et personalis proprietates sint aliquae duae quaevis entitates qualitercumque illae nominentur.

Gregory admits only that the *predication* of the essence and the personal property is not formal: "Quarta: quod neutrius praedicatio de altero est formalis."

Holkot represents the furthest point of development from the Scotistic and Ockhamistic solution. For this so-called Ockhamist, who is fond of quoting St. Thomas often, denies the *distinctio formalis* in any sense, and also denies the formal character of Logic. But he does not deny the principle of contradiction. In *Quodl.*, q. 2 (Ms. Royal 10 C VI), he ridicules the *distinctio formalis*.

Frustra fingitur iste modus loquendi in materia ista, quia non dilucidat nec contradictionem vitat nec plus invitat quam quicumque modus alius. Nam omnis catholicus concedit quod aliquid praedicatur de essentia, quod non

22. *I Sent.*, d. 33 et 34, q. 1: "Respondeo ergo..." (ed. Gugl. Militis, Paris, 1482).

praedicatur de Patre, et haec est difficultas, quomodo hoc potest esse.... Cf. also *Determinationum*, q. 10, sextum dubium Q (ed. Lyons, 1497).

In *Quodl.*, q. 3, Holkot states:

Tertio dico quod [catholicus] non debet concedere contradictoria, potest tamen concedere propositiones, quae videntur esse contradictoriae vel implicantes contradictionem, sicut illae duae propositiones videntur includere contradictionem: Deus est res simplicissima, et Deus est tres res....

The formality of Aristotelian Logic is denied, and a supernatural Logic affirmed, in the following text (*loc. cit.*):

10° dico, quod catholicus nulla logica debet uti in concedendo vel negando propositiones sive consequentias nisi determinatione ecclesiae, nec aliquibus regulis humanitus adinventis sic quod illae regulae sint mensura suae concessionis vel negationis in materia de credibilibus. Patet hoc, quia in materia tali deficit logica naturalis; nam aliquando in syllogismo expositorio oportet concedere utramque praemissarum et tamen negare conclusionem. Et tamen secundum logicam naturalem discursus non habet instantiam, sed est syllogismus optimus. Verbi gratia, si arguitur sic: Haec res est Pater, haec res est Filius, ergo Filius est Pater, videtur optima consequentia. Similis instantia (non) potest inveniri in universo mundo. Unde Aristoteles arbitratus est, quod talis forma arguendi est notior et evidentior quam syllogismus quicumque factus ex universalibus vel ex universali et particulari.

From this short exposition it follows that the historical position of the author of the *Centiloquium* is not in the neighborhood of Ockham, but rather in the neighborhood of Holkot.

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*I wish to express my thanks to Fr. Sebastian Day, O. F. M., for his kind help in preparing this article. The texts of Ockham quoted in this paper are corrected on the basis of many manuscripts. P. B.

SAINTS' LIVES ATTRIBUTED TO NICHOLAS BOZON

Part II

LA VIE SEIN MARGARET¹ [95R, COL. 2]

Vus qui avez desirance		Ore escotez sa bone vie	
Des mals aver allegeance		Bien menee e bien finie	
Vus donez a lire volentiers		Theodos son pere out noun	
Ou de oyer de bon quers		Un segnur de <i>grant</i> renoun	40
La vie seinte margarete	5	Patriarke de les paens	
Li prist le noun de margarite		Ki mult hay les cristiens	
Ceo est une pere precieuse		En antioche fu manant	
Blanche e petite e vertuose		Le sire baillia cest enfant	
Dunt ele out bien le noun		Margarete sa chere <i>gemme</i>	45
De margarete par cele resun	10	De nurer a une <i>femme</i>	
Ke blanche esteit par chastete		Ke cristiene esteyt <i>privee</i>	
E petite par humilite		E ceste enfante ad baptize	
E vertuose en treble manere		Kant ele fut bien aprise	
Cum treis vertuz ad la pere		E del amour dieu surprise	50
Vertu pur sanc estancher	15	Par humblesce ne tint pas vice	
Vertu en cuntre passiun de quer		De estre servante sa nurice	
E vertu ke le espirit		Un iour ala od ses <i>compaynes</i>	
Mult comfort dit le escrit		A chanz garder ses ouwayles	
De asez plus fu margarete [95v, col. 1]		Par la passa olibrius	55
Virtuose ke margarite	20	Vers les cristiens mult irrous	
Le sanc estanchea de parente		Aparceut ceste ke fut si bele	
Kant fit encuntre lur volente		Lors sa gent a li apele	
Le honur del secle ad despise		Si ceste seit de bon lyniage	
E fut pur dieu martirize		Jeo la prenderay en mariage	60
Lautre vertu kele assuagea	25	E si noun ele serra [95v, col. 2]	
Dolur de meint quer kant ele <i>pria</i>		Ma concubyne ore alez la	
Pur cels e celes ki sunt penez		E a force si la pernez	
Ke par sa priere seient allegiez		E a mon hostel tost la amenez	
La tierce vertue ad tel pris		Olibrius la aresona	65
Ke mult confort nos espiriz	30	De son estat e tut demanda	
Kan une <i>femme</i> tendre e frele		La pucele dunc respondi	
Tels mals suffrit sanz querele		A cel tyrant dit issi	
Ceo <i>nus</i> deit bien conforter		Jeo su de noble sanc estret	
En grevance confort aver		E margarete mon noun si est	70
Ore avez oy le noun	35	E cristiene su pur verite	
De margarete e la resun		Ore <i>vus</i> ay ieo tut counte	
		Lautre dit vostre visage	
		Vus mustre bien de haut parage	
		E vostre noun fu bien done	75
		A pere precieuse compare	

1. The title is written in the margin; only part of the *n* shows, and the first stroke of the final *e* barely shows.

La tierce chose ke avez dit		Ki me procure tel tourment	
Ke <i>vus</i> creez en ihesu crist		Lors apparut en la prison	125
Celi ke fu si malmene		Un trop hidus e fiers dragon	
Ne afert pas a vostre lignee	80	De sa bouche issit tel feu	
Certes dit ele ceo fu pur nous		Ke la ou lumer avant ne fu	
Ne mye pur li morut li douz		Chascun angle de la meyson ²	
A mort se mist de mort releva		Ele pout vere cel dragon	130
E par sa mort <i>nus</i> delivera		Lors fit ele singne de la croice	
De morte durable e <i>nus</i> rechata	85	E pria dieu de haute voice	
La vie estable ke tuz iours dura		Kil la suavast del enemi	
Li tyrant fu dunc corusce		E le dragoun se mist ali ³	
A la prison la ad enveyee		Ouvrit la bouche le transgluta	135
Ou ele pria nostre segnour		Mes par la croice le dragon creva	
Mult tendrement de secour	90	Seyne e haytee ele se leva	
Ke par le enmy ne fu vencue		E ihesu crist mult mercia	
E sa requeste li fu tendue		Le diable se turna en autre forme	
Lendemain fu remandee		En figure de un neir homme	140
E il li fu dit en verite		Pur li deceyvre e grever	
Si guerpier volez la cristienete	95	Mes kant out fet sa prier	
Richement serret marie		La pucele a li se mett	
E si noun <i>vus</i> sentirez		E de sa mayn a tere le gett	
Asez des peines ceo sachez		Son pee destre li mit au col	
Jeo su dit ele mariee		[96r, col. 2]	145
A li qui pere nad en poeste	100	E dit <i>vus</i> cheitif orgulus fol	
Pur sa amour ieo ne face		Fetes ore ceo ke poez	
Nule force de vostre manace		Le diable crie dame cessez	
La pucele fu dunc penduee [96r,		Jeo su vencu par une femme	
col. 1]		Mergarete la riche gemme	150
En un engin tut nuee		Si ieo fuse par homme vencu	
Des grosses verges dure batue	105	Ne fus pas tant confundu	
E tant de sanc fu esandue		Mes hount me perce la froncele	
Ke li tyrant pur pitee		Kant vencu su par femme freele	
Sa face de li ad tournee		Vostre pere me fu chere	155
Les tourmentours diseient a li		E mult amay vostre mere	
Margarete eez merci	110	E <i>vus</i> me avez de tut honi	
De vostre beaute e creez		E la pucele dit a li	
Nostre conseil e <i>vus</i> sauvez		Pur quei estes si entour	
<i>Vus</i> estes dit ele conseillers		A cristiens de fere dolour	160
A seintes almes contrariers		De nature corumpu	
<i>Vus</i> conseillez pur bref solace	115	Vers cristiens ieo su esmu	
Ke ieo me mette en long allas		Peyse a nous kil serrunt dimes	
Ceo est dreite vie de cristiene		En la ioye ke nus perdimes	
En ceste vie endurer peyne		Pur ceo ne avums autre feste	165
Lors fu avalee e mis en prison		Fors a cristiens fere moleste	
En orbeysoun fit oreyson	120	Li roy vaylant e li os	
E dit a dieu sir ieo <i>vus</i> pri		Salomon aveit enclos	
Mustrez moy mon enemi			
Ke vere le puse apertement			

2. This line seems to need a verb.
3. a li.

Sanz nombre de nostre compaignye		Se mervaylerent durement	
En un vessel tutte sa vye	170	Ke homme ou femme pout souffrir	
Après sa mort les genz quiderent		En tant de maners fort martir	
Trover tresor e le debriserent		Une columbe se est presente	
Nos compaignons eschaperent		E une coroune lad portee	220
E meynt homme pus greverent		O li pala e la dit	
E mergarete li ad demande	175	Vus estes sauve par ihesu crist	
Ke est vostre noun vus maufe		Il vus maund doucement	
Beltisco dit il su nomee		La courte de ciel vus attent	
Ki meynte alme ay encombre		Vus estes pucele honuree	225
Ki grever ne puse en veylant		De touz les seintz de ciel amee	
Jeo les greve en dormant	180	Kant ceste novele fut pupplie	
E nomeement cels ke ne unt		Sount convertuz a cristiente	
De la croice le singne en front		Cink mil hommes e bien plus	
La pucele dunc le comanda		[96v, col. 2]	
En desert e coniura		Ke furent descolez pur dieu	
Ke de cele oure en avant	185	trestuz	230
Homme ne grevat femme ne enfant		Le prince dunc fu pourus	
Lors apparut ihesu crist [96v,		Ke de son puple perdroit plus	
col. 1]		Tantost fit comander.	
E tutte la mesone resplendit		Seynte mergarete decoler	
La conforta de beu promes		Kant la pucele vint a chanz	235
Ke ele vendreit a li a son deces	190	Dieus envea tele cheanz	
Li tirant pus la fit maunder		Ke celi malcus appelle	
Par devant li e demander		Par ki serreit decolee	
Si ele fut en volente		Vit ihesu en humanite	
De fere ceo kil out moneste		E dit par moy ne serrez tue	240
Ele respondit ieo su afermee	195	Si vus dit ele le avez veu	
En lamour celi ki me ad amee		Me grantez ore en cest leu	
Le tirant fit dunc empler		Un poy de tens en oreysen	
Un vessel grant de euue cler		E pus me averez abaundon	
E peez e meyns la fit lier		Ele dunc agenuz se mist	245
E parfount laeinz getter	200	E dit issi a ihesu crist	
De totes parz les genz vindrent		Jeo vus pri pur celi e cele	
Plusurs de eus fous se tindrent		Ki en angusse a moy apele	
Ke terre mute vint si grant		Par vus seit allegee	
Ke nul ne fit beau semblant		Jeo le vus pri pur amiste	250
Les liens dount fut liee	205	E cels ki escriverunt	
Par sa priere sunt debrise		Ou oyrunt ou lirrunt	
Seyn e sauf sen issit		Mes gestes en saint lyvre	
Par la vertu ihesu crist		De mal de pechie soient delyvre	
Li tirant dunc fet ses comanz		E a cele meysone	255
Mettre entour li tisons ardan	210	Ou serra ma passionne	
La chare li comence de broyler		Leu par grant devocion	
E la pucele dieu loer		Donez cele beneyzon	
Sir dit ele la chare seit ars		Ke la maufe neyt pouer	
Ke lalme ne eyt mal dautre parz		Homme ne femme lenz encum-	
Kant ke furent la present	215	brer	260

Ne la femme travaylant
 Ne seyt encumbre del enfant
 Ne lenz ne seyt enfant ne
 Par le diable encumbre
 Clop ne sourd ne muet 265
 Ne evugle ne bozzon ne deget
 E celi ki serra en prison
 Tut seit par mesprison
 E face lire ma passion
 Par *vus* eyt remission 270
 Nus sumes touz pecheours [97r,
 col. 1]
 E *vus* pleyn de *grant* dulceours
 Kant la virgine out parfet
 Sa priere descendu est
 Une blanche columbe a une
 croice 275
 Of li parla de aperte voyce
 Margarete la benuree
 Vostre priere *vus* est *grantee*
 Pur ceo ke pensastes de pecheours
 En vos anguses e dolours 280
 Dieu *vus* *grante* par ses dulceours
 Vos priers a tuz iours
 Cels ki averunt le douce estorie
 De vostre passion la memorie
 De mals averunt allegeance 285
 Si ne seit pur lur mescheance
 Dieu *vus* maunde ke en chescun leu
 Ke de pechie nest corumpu
 Si vostre passion i seyt leu
 En chescun mal lur ert escu 290
 La margarete fu ioyouse
 De ceste novele delitouse
 E dit a celi malcus nome
 Jeo pri ke tost sey decolee
 Jeo dit il ne voyle dieus 295
 Un mescreant ke vy dieus
 E ses angles entour *vus*

Ke ieo meys mayn en *vus*
 Si *vus* ne mettez mayn en moy
 Parte de ciel ne averez o moy 300
 E meyntenant leve il lespe
 A un soul coup la ad decole
 Ceo ke avint de celi malquyn
 Jeo ne ay pas trove en mon latin
 Ke fit teu fet apres la vuewe 305
 Meis par cele pleyne de vertuwe
 Jeo crey kil prist bon fin
 Me ke trove ne seyt en latin
 Kant la pucele fut decolee
 Les angels unt lalme enporte 310
 O melodie *grant* demene
 E avant ke fut enterree
 Touz les malades ki la vindrent
 [97r, col. 2]
 A lour rescet seyns revindrent
 Dunc plusurs paens sunt con-
 vertuz 315
 A dieu par mustrance de tant de
 vertuz
 A cele oure esteyent oy
 Les dyables en leyr ki diseyent issi
 Le pussant dieu de cristiens
 Ad engette de nos liens 320
 Par ceste femme nostre preye
 Ore alum alum nostre veye
 Margarete ore pensez
 De moy cheytif ke ay *translatez*
 Vostre vie e vostre passion 325
 Ke dieu me *grante* sauvacion
 E a touz cels ke cest escrit
 Orrunt ou lirrunt o delit
 Ceo est le covenant avant fet
 Ore seit garde si *vus* plet amen⁴ 330

4. The final *n* of *Amen* is a capital letter carefully elaborated.

LA VIE SEINT MARTHA [97R, COL. 2]

Beu segnours ki delitez
 Noveles oyer de estrangetez
 Cele chose ke trove ay
 Escotez cea e *vus* dirray
 En la vie seinte martha

5

Ke sovent ihesu herbergea
 Tant cum ala ci entere
 Cum *vus* avey oy tetrere
 Sire fut son pere nome
 E sa mere dame eukare

10

Son pere out en sa baillye		E bele grace de bien prechier	
Martinia e sirie		Avint issi ke un dragun	
Duk esteit estreit de reys		Ke trop fu hidous e feloun	60
Chivaler noble e curteys		Esteit manant en cele tere	
Martha par sa mere aveyt	15	Unk de tel ne oy retere	
Bele chose dount viveyt		Lune partie del gragoun	
La vile ke out noun bethanie		Apparut beste lautre pessoun	
E de ierusalem une partie		Les denz aveit moult akuz	65
Femme esteit ben avisee		Granz e longs e crokuz [97v,	
Unk ne fut esposee	20	col. 2]	
Ne ke len sache folie ne fit		Le cors aveit plus gros ke buf	
De son cors par foul delit		Trop poy li serreit au diner un uf	
Kant iesu passa par pays		La feente kil getta par derere	
Nostre segnour illuc ad pris		Fu si ardent e si fere	70
[97v, col. 1]		Ke par chalin ardereit	
Son hostel ke fut prest tut dis	25	Quele chose ke touchereit	
Kant autres li feseient escundis		Plus loung esteit ke nul chival	
Un iour le servi cum fit sovent		E cele beste fit tant de mal	
Sa sure reprist egrement		Ke homme ne oseit par li passer	75
Ke ayder ne vout mes se assit		Ne par tere ne par mer	
Pur oyer les paroles iheru crist	30	Kant il vout par tere ala	
Par la resone ke li fut vis		E homme e femme devora	
Ke iheru esteit de teu pris		E kant il vout il saveit estre	
Ke tut le mound a tel sire		En les euwes pur mal encrestre	80
Trop poy serreit de bien servire		Les nefes chargez reversa	
Après lascencion nostre segnour	35	E plusurs genz a morte livera	
Furent eles en grant dolur		Kant martha la chose oyt	
Par ieues a paens malurez		De male remedi les promist	
Ke les disciples unt tourmentez		Martha vint le dragoun trova	85
Martha dunc e sa sure		En un boys ou il devora	
Furent mys maugre lour	40	Un homme vif si le mangea	
En une neif sanz vitayl		E maintenant li fit martha	
E sanz sigle e governayl		Del euwe beneite envirouner	
En cele neif fu ausi mys		E une croice a li mustrer	90
Un seint homme de grant pris		Kant cele beste tant malet	
De ki eles furent baptizez	45	La vertu sentit del euwe benet	
Maximyn fut appellez		E devant li vit la croice	
E autres plusurs bone genz		Lors getta une hidouse voyce	
En cele neif sunt mys enz		E se suffrit par femme lier	95
La grace dieu sanz nul peril		Ke soleit avant la gent devorer	
Les amena en marsil	50	La femme le tint en sa ceinture	
La demurent en cel leu		Tant cum la gent li curent sure	
Ou mouz de genz unt convertu		Les unes de lance les autres de pere	
A la fay de seinte eglise		Si unt occis li malveis lere	100
Par seinte vie e bone aprise		Tarascur fut appellee	
E nostre livre nus ad counte	55	Celi malveis en la countree	
Ke martha fut mult renome		Lors fu martha mult alosee	
Lang aveyt de bien parler		E dieu par li plus honuree	

Un iour avint ke estut martha	105	E kant ele vit ke fut seson	
Sur la rive a genz precha		Se mit en pays pour precher	
Dautre part cele river		Pur les almes a dieu gaygner	
Si estut un bacheler [98r, col. 1]		A son retourner a meson	155
Si out desir pur meuz oyer		Se dona tut a oreyson	
Les paroles ke oyt precher	110	Son cors pena pur veyller	
Il entendit quil sout neger		E ses oyz par mult lermier	
E si mit en la river		E char ne peisson ne vout manger	
Par cas escheit ke fut nehe		Ne gres ne blaunkes ne vout to- cher	160
E lendemein le cors trove		Ne vin ne cidre ne vout guster	
Ses amys venent o le cors	115	E sur nuwe tere vout reposer	
En plurant prient martha lors		Cent fez la nute mit a tere	
Ke sicum mort fut par enchesun		Ses genuz a dieu pur requere	
Ke voleit aver oy le sermun		Pur le puple quil eit merci	165
Ke par li fut resuscite		Ke pur lur pechez ne fusent peri	
Par ki fut avant nee	120	Un ymage fit de ihesu crist	
A la priere de cele gent		En tele semblance cum ele le vist	
Ele se assentit humblement		Alant en tere e si vestu	
A la tere en croice se mist		Kanque tocha receut vertu	170
E parla si vers ihesu crist		Ses compaygnes mult bien aprist	
Trescher segnour douce ihesu	125	De quer servir ihesu crist	
Ki en mon hostel ay resceu		Ceste dame bone e sage	
E tant sovent herbergee		Kant ele vint a grant age	
Jeo <i>vus</i> pri pur le amyte		Par dieu fu garni kant moreit	175
Ke a cel oure me mustrastes		Un an avant kele passeit	
Kant mon frere resuscitastes	130	Tut cel an la fevre out	
Ke morte en vie le quart iour		Maladie ke mult la grevout	
Kant fut pleyn de puour		En cors le greva ne mye en quer	
Ke la multitude de ceste gens		Pur la esperance de bon lower	180
Dount tut le plus sount paens		Une semayne avant ke passa	
Pusent guerpir lour fause ley	135	Une veuwe dieu la mustra	
E crere fermement ceo ke crey		Dount ele fu mult solascee	
Martha dunc se leva		Lalme sa sure cum fut menee	
E al mort sen ala		De cest mound a ioye sovereyne	185
Par la mayn ele le prist		La douce marie magdeleyne	
Levez dit ele. e a son dit	140	En compagnie aungeline	
Le mort en vie releva		Lors dit martha la begyne	
E de baptem les pria		A cele alme ke vist passer	
Plusurs genz ke unt ceo veu		Plus lusant ke esteyle cler	190
A la fay sount convertu		Ore hastez <i>vus</i> a nostre mestre	
Dunc fit martha une meson	145	Ke en mon hostel solei pestre	
En ceo bois ou fut le dragon		[98v, col. 1]	
A tret a li femmes plusurs		Kant martha vit aprocher	
De bele manere de bon mours		Le tens ke deveit de ci passer	
E par mult grant devocion		Appela ses sures e les dit	195
Establit la religion [98r, col.		Ke feseient alumer entour son lit	
2]	150		
La se tint en oreison			

De tute parz les chandayles		Un eveske fronto ¹ le dymeyn ²	
E se tenisent la nute en veylles		Chanta sa messe en la citee	
Après la mynute les veyllanz		Pentagorit ke est appelle	
Furent trovez en dormanz	200	Mult loinz de cele meson	245
Les debles vindrent e unt esteint		En un autre regioun	
Tute la lumere ke rien remeint		Le eveske sit revestu	
E se mustrentent devant son lit		Tant cum le epistle esteit lu	
Lors seinte martha a iheru dit		Vynt nostre segnur iheru crist	
Trescher segnour e bele host	205	A cel eveske et li dit	250
Ceste veuwe de moy host		Venez fronto mon cher amy	
Jeo vey devant mey les maufez		Vus vendrez o moy ou ieo vus dy	
Ke unt escrit mes pechez		Ma chere hostesce ke me resceut	
Ne suffrez pas ke hidur blesce		Si est passe ceste nute	
Le quer de vostre chere hostesce	210	A ioie ke ne avera finement	255
Lors vint sa sure la maudeleyne		Nus serroms al enterement	
Ke morut meme cele someyne		E maintenant le eveske fut	
Lumere of li apporta		A cele meson ou martha geut	
E tute la mesone enlumina		En la mesone de tarascur	
Les deables sen alerent en tene- brur	215	Ou ele purvit son soïour	260
E martha parla o sa sorour		Le office feseient enterement	
E sa sure o li parla		E a cel enterement	
E checune dautre ioie en a		Tel honour dieu la fit	
A ceo sen veint li rey de cyel		Ke de ses maynes en tere la mit	
E la dit une parole teyl	220	A ceo vus vynt un bachelier	265
Ma chere hostesce ore venez		E comence iheru a resoner	
La ou ieo su vus serrez		Ke estes vus ceo dit il	
Vus me avez resceu en ton hostel		Le plus bel ke ay veu de myl	
E ieo vus resceyverei en mon ceel		Jesu ne respondit mot	
E cels ki de ayde vus prierunt	225	Un petit livre li desclot	270
Par vostre requeste le troverunt		De bele lettre escrit tut pleyn	
Martha dunc se fit porter		Si la baylla en sa mayn	
De hors la mesone e la cocher		Lautre tourne cea e la	
Sur les cendres en tere neuwe		E autre parole ne trova	
Ke vers le ceel ut la veuwe	230	Fors un soul vers benure	275
Devant li fit la croice tenir		Par tut le lyvre reherce {99r, col. 1}	
A iheru dit o grant suspir		Ma chere hostesce leel e estable	
Receyvez sir vostre hostesce		En memoyre serra pardurable	
Ke dolour mes ne me blesce		James ne horra si bien noun	
[98v, col. 2]		Ne ia ne verra si ioie noun	280
Martha dunc devant li fit	235	Kant le clerc out leu lescrit	
Lire la passion iheru crist		Nul homme entour li vit	
Kant vint al pas ou il dit		Retournum ore a la citee	
Ke iheru rendit lespir		Dount le eveske fut amene	
In manus tuas et cetera		Kant le clerc le epistle out leu	285
La seinte femme devia	240	E la sequence chante fu	
Ceo fu le samadi e lendemeyn			

1. St. Frontus at Périgueux.

2. le di meyn.

Le eveske sit en son lu		Mes chers amys ore entendez	315
Pres del auter revestu		Ki cest escrit regardez	
Le deken quidout quil dormesit		Quele affiance e quel confort	
Dunc une pece le suffrit	290	Ceste femme out en sa mort	
Mes pur le puple ke li attendi		[99r, col. 2]	
Le deken se mit tut dreit a li		Cum sovent ad rehercee	
E dit iube domine benedicere		Ke ihesu crist out herbergee	320
Pur le evangel ke fut assigne		Par ceo poez entendre	
Coment dit il ke avez fet	295	Ke <i>vus</i> devez estre tendre	
<i>Vus</i> me avez haste ceo maufet		Tele chose fere en vostre vie	
Jeo ay lesse me ganz derere		Ke en vostre morte <i>vus</i> seit aie	
E mon anel o riche pere		Mes par aventure <i>vus</i> dirrez	325
Ou dit lautre sount els gisant		A bon oure fut unc nez	
Jeo les querrey mayntenant	300	Ki ihesu crist put herberger	
Le eveske dit ore atendez		Cum martha fit en son hostel	
Ne mye si tost cum <i>vus</i> quidez		Jeo di quil memes a nus diseit	
Pus apres kant les clers		Qui le meyndre de mens resceit	330
Entendirent tut le veyrs		En mon noun par charitee	
Ententivement unt enquis	305	Il me ad resceu e herbergee	
Quele parte fut cel pais		Si <i>vus</i> ne avez manger ne beivre	
E pur prover la verite		A qui le pussez bien resceyvre	
A tel leu unt envee		En vostre quer le resceyvez	335
E sicum il dit illuc trova		E la en amour le herbergez	
Anel e gaunz ke la lessa	310	E ieo di si <i>vus</i> le facez	
Lun gaunt o le anel reporta		O li en ceel reposerez	
E lautre gaunt iluc demora		Jeo pri a dieu ke veyngnum la	
En temoyance de la merweyle		Par les merites de seinte martha.	
Ke dieu fit la sanz nule fayle		amen	340

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FRANCISCANA

THE ACADEMY OF AMERICAN FRANCISCAN HISTORY

FORMAL opening of the Academy of American Franciscan History took place at the Franciscan Monastery in Washington, D. C., on Tuesday, April 18. This noteworthy development in the field of Inter-American historical research was initiated under the guidance of the Very Rev. Mathias Faust, O. F. M., Delegate General of North and Central America.

The ceremonies of inauguration began with a Solemn High Mass at Mount St. Sepulchre in the presence of the Most Rev. Edwin V. O'Hara, D. D., Bishop of Kansas City, who delivered the sermon; the Most Rev. John Mark Gannon, D. D., Bishop of Erie; and the Most Rev. Paul Yu-Pin, Vicar Apostolic of Nanking, China. The Very Rev. Wenceslaus Krzycki, O. F. M., Minister Provincial of the Sacred Heart Province, offered the Mass. Also present were the Very Rev. Ministers Provincial and Commissary of North America, and Franciscan historians from the various Provinces of the United States, Canada, Mexico and several Latin-American countries.

The opening session of the Academy was held in Pilgrimage Hall. The Rev. Roderick Wheeler, O. F. M., Ph. D., Director of the Academy, presided, and the Rev. Francis Borgia Steck, O. F. M., Ph. D., professor of history at the Catholic University, acted as chairman. An address was delivered by J. Manuel Espinosa, Ph. D., professor of history at Loyola University, on "Our Debt to the Franciscan Missionaries of New Mexico." He was followed by John Tate Lanning, Ph. D., professor of history at Duke University, whose topic was "The Intellectual History of the Spanish Colonies: Its revision with special reference to the Franciscans."

The guests at the dinner in the evening included about two hundred distinguished personages, many of them outstanding authorities in the fields of American History, Inter-American affairs, and Franciscan research. The Ambassadors from various countries of Latin America and members of the diplomatic corps, representatives from the State Department and the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, members of the Library of Congress, the Hispanic Foundation of America and the Carnegie Institution of Washington, as well as scholars from many universities of the Western Hemisphere were in attendance. The Rev. Herbert Gallagher, O. F. M., Guardian of Holy Name College, was toastmaster and introduced the speaker, Howard Mumford Jones, Litt. D., L. H. D., Dean of the Graduate School of Harvard University, who gave an inspiring address on the Franciscans and their contribution to the intellectual heritage of our civilization. Father Roderick at this gathering announced the names of the honorary and corresponding members of the Academy.

The final session was presided over by the Most Rev. John Mark Gannon, D. D., with the Very Rev. Thomas Plassmann, O. F. M., Ph. D., S. T. D., President of St. Bonaventure College and Seminary, Managing Editor of FRANCISCAN STUDIES, acting as chairman. Carlos E. Castaneda, Ph. D., of the University of Texas, gave an address entitled "The Sons of St. Francis in Texas." He was followed by Eduardo Enrique Rios, Ph. D.,

of the University of Mexico, whose paper was "Franciscan Influence in Mexican Culture." The final address was delivered by France V. Scholes, Ph. D., of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, on "Franciscan Contributions to Maya Studies."

The Very Rev. Mathias Faust, O. F. M., Delegate General, the founder and sponsor of the Academy, envisioned and proposed the establishment of the institution shortly after his appointment as Delegate of the Minister General. The enthusiastic cooperation of friends and scholars, in evidence at the formal inauguration of the Academy, is an indication of the timeliness of the undertaking, as well as an augury of its success. The purpose of the Academy is to discover and assemble documents and books of Franciscan interest, to compile a complete bibliographical index of American Franciscana, to edit and publish documents, and to issue original historical works. In a word, it aims to stimulate, coordinate and perpetuate interest in American Franciscan studies, and to pay a debt of gratitude to the past. The Academy will publish a quarterly review of Inter-American cultural history, called *The Americas*. The headquarters of the Academy are at Holy Name College, Washington, D. C., with branches at Montreal, Canada, and Mexico City.

FRANCISCAN STUDIES wishes success to the newly formed Academy of American Franciscan History, and its forthcoming quarterly, *The Americas*.

THE following list of recent dissertations is given as evidence that Franciscans are engaged in research and producing works that deserve praise in their respective fields. The list also evidences that Franciscan topics are in prominence as topics for scholarly investigation.

A doctoral thesis accepted last June by the University of Pittsburgh, the work of Rev. John A. Sabinash, a priest of the Pittsburgh diocese, is entitled *St. Bonaventure's Itinerarium Mentis in Deum*. It is a translation, with an introduction and commentary, of the Franciscan Cardinal's important *opusculum*. Besides an introduction dealing with the life and philosophical background of the Seraphic Doctor, the work also contains a special section on mysticism and his contribution to that field. Then follows a translation of the *Itinerarium*, with commentary, and a glossary of terms, along with a select bibliography.

Space does not permit a descriptive note for each of the following dissertations.

Bennett, Owen, O. F. M. Conv., *The Nature of Demonstrative Proof* (Catholic University, 1943).

Blie, Benjamin J., *A Survey of the Austrian Contribution to the Catholic Church in the United States, derived largely from the publications of the Leopoldine Society* (Marquette University, 1943).

Bushell, James G., O. F. M., *New Testament Formulae for Old Testament Citations* (Catholic University, 1943).

Comtois, Raynald, O. F. M., *De Exsecutione sententiae* (Laval University, 1943).

Cooke, Sr. M. Francis, O. S. F., *History of the Hospital Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis* (Marquette, 1943).

Frietsch, Sr. Mary Olivia, O. S. F., *History of the Educational Activities of the Sisters of St. Francis, Oldenburg, Indiana* (University of Cincinnati, 1943).

Grabka, Gregory, O. F. M. Conv., *Cardinalis Hosii Doctrina de Corpore Christi Mystico* (Catholic University, 1943).

Huser, Roger John, O. F. M., *Crime of Abortion in Canon Law* (Catholic University, 1943).

Kevin, Sr. Mary, O. S. F., *A Textual and Critical Study of Newman's Idea of a University, Part I* (University of Cincinnati, 1943).

Learned, Mary Rebecca, *Six Saints' Lives by Nicholas Bozon as Found in Cotton Domitian A XI of the British Museum* (Radcliffe College, 1943). A portion of this dissertation is being printed in the current volume of FRANCISCAN STUDIES.

Lee, Arthur M., *Robert Grosseteste's De Cessacione Legalium: a Critical Edition. From the Extant Mss.* (University of Colorado, 1943).

Masse, Vivalde, O. F. M., *Les Paroisses Religieuses* (Laval University, 1943).

Pottebaum, Sr. Mary Edward, O. S. F., *Studies on the Esterification of Amino Alcohols* (Notre Dame University, 1943).

Schmidt, Sr. Mary T., S. C., *Saint Augustine's Influence on St. Thomas More's English Works* (Yale University, 1943).

Scholes, France Vinton, *Church and State in New Mexico in the Seventeenth Century* (Harvard University, 1943).

Sullivan, Sr. M. Rosenda, O. S. F., *The Cursus in the Prose of St. Thomas More* (Catholic University, 1943).

Swoboda, Innocent Robert, O. F. M., *Ignorance in Relation to Imputability of Delicts* (Catholic University, 1943).

The following recent books include Franciscan history and biography, or contain information related to these fields.

L'Ordine dei Frati Minori (Lezioni storiche) 1209-1517 Parte I, by Paolo M. Sevesi, O. F. M. (Milano, 1942).

Crónica Miscelanea de la Santa Provincia de Xalisco, Book 3, by Fray Antonio Tello, O. F. M. (Mexico, 1942).

Crónica de las Provincias Internas de la Nueva España, by Fernando Ocaranza (Mexico, 1943).

The English Carmelites, by Lancelot C. Sheppard (London, 1943). This work contains many references to the Order of Friars Minor, and the early history of the Order in England.

"Franciscan Missions of Upper California, as Seen by Foreign Visitors and Residents: a chronological list of printed accounts, 1786-1848," by Willard O. Waters, is an essay in the volume entitled *Bookmen's Holiday* (New York, 1943), dedicated to Harry Miller Lydenberg, formerly associated with the New York Public Library.

La Reina Mártir — Apuntes Históricos del Siglo XVI, by Luis Colomba, S. J. (Mexico, 1943).

Los Doce Apóstoles Franciscanos en Mexico, by B. Salazar, O. F. M. (Mexico, 1943). Father Salazar died in Mexico City, December 28, 1943.

The Franciscan Sisters of the Third Order Regular of St. Francis, Anonymous. This little work has also been published in the periodical, *The Catholic Virginian*, August, 1943.

Fray Bartolome de Las Casas, by A. Yanez (Mexico, 1943).

Un Alma Grande. Una gran obra. La muy Rev. Madre Maria de la Pasión, Fundadora de las Franciscanas Misionareas de Maria, by Marie Bernard Hygonet, O. F. M. (Barcelona, 1942).

El Padre José de Acosta y las Misiones, by Leon Lopetegui, S. J. (Madrid, 1942).

Le P. Alexis de Barbezieux, de l'Ordre des Frères-Mineurs Capucins, 1854-1941, by Justin de Montagnac, O. F. M. Cap. (Montreal, 1943).

The new Canadian edition of the *Life of St. Francis*, by Fr. Frédéric Jansoone, O. F. M., is reviewed by Fr. Georges Albert La Plante, O. F. M., in the new periodical, *La Vie des Communautés Religieuses*, I (1943), pp. 201-203.

In the July, 1943, issue of *Provincial Annals* of the Holy Name Province, there will be found one of several articles by Benjamin F. Musser entitled "The Beloved Mendicant: Moments from the Life of Father Francis Koch, O. F. M.," well known in New York and New Jersey as a church-builder. The series has since appeared as a book (Magnificat Press, Manchester, N. H.).

The eminent Mexican scholar, Eduardo Enrique Ríos, has issued another interesting bit of Franciscan research in "Fray Juan de San Miguel, Fundador de Pueblos." This was originally published in *Abside*, July-September, 1943, and has been reprinted as a pamphlet (Apartado 2545, Mexico, D. F.).

The life of the Poverello written by the mental giant, Gilbert Keith Chesterton, has now appeared in Spanish, translated by Daniel Tapia Bolívar, under the title *San Francisco de Asís* (Mexico, 1943).

Saint Charles Borromeo, by the Most Rev. Cesare Orsenigo (Herder, 1943), gives an interesting biography of this prince of the Church and true Franciscan.

Mother Immaculata of Jesus is the inspiring biography of Elizabeth Tombrock, or Mother Immaculata as she was known to thousands, the foundress of the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception. A member of her community prepared the first part which recounts her external life; Thomas Plassmann, O. F. M., wrote the second portion analyzing her spiritual life. The Motherhouse of the Sisters is now located in Paterson, N. J.

An outstanding book is the recently published translation of John Hofer's *Johannes von Capestrano*, translated by Patrick Cummins, O. S. B. (Herder, 1943).

Although devoted to the history of the Jesuit missions, the two-volume work by G. Decorme, entitled *La Obra de los Jesuitas Mexicanos durante la epoca colonial* (Mexico City, Robredo, 1941), should bring out much Franciscan information.

While Franciscan scholars are busily engaged in editing the letters of

Fray Junípero Serra, we note the publication of *Fray Junípero Serra, Civilizador de las Californias*, by Herrera Carrillo (Mexico, Robredo, 1943).

Fray Margil de Jesus, Apóstol de America, by Eduardo Enrique Ríos (Mexico City, 1941).

Don Fray Juan de Zumarraga: Documentos Inéditos Publicados con una Introducción y Notas, by A. Maria Carreño (Mexico City, 1943).

Franciscans will enjoy the latest novel of Lucille Borden, *From the Morning Watch* (Macmillan, 1943). A Capuchin friar plays an interesting part in the book, guiding the principal character to various places associated with our Lord's life.

Blessed Are the Meek is "a novel whose central figure is St. Francis of Assisi, drawn against the background of the thirteenth century." Originally written in Polish by Zofia Kossak, it was translated by Rulka Langer and published by Roy Publishers, New York, 1944.

A beautiful new edition of *The Little Flowers of Saint Francis* has just appeared from The Peter Pauper Press (Mount Vernon, N. Y., 1943). It is illustrated by Valenti Angelo.

The papers read at the First Congress of Franciscan Tertiaries of the Province of "El Santo Evangelio," held in Mexico, May 3-9, 1943, have been published by the recently organized Centro de Estudios Historicos Franciscanos. The volume is available from Miguel Dorantes Aguilar, Apartado Postal 2545, Mexico, D. F., at \$2.00 a copy.

Although a small volume, Franciscans will find Rev. James A. Magner's new book of interest. *Latin American Pattern* is published by the Catholic Students' Mission Crusade, Shattuc Ave., Cincinnati 26, Ohio.

A recent product of the Instituto Mexicano de Investigaciones Historico-Juridicas, entitled *Catálogo de los Curatos y Misiones de la Nueva España* (Mexico, 1943), should prove informative to students of the Franciscan missions in New Spain.

In the first number of *Tlalocan* will be found a 30 page article entitled "Eighteenth Century 'Relaciones Geográficas': a Bibliography," by R. H. Barlow, containing much information on the location, communication, and physical environment of towns from Chihuahua to the Isthmus. In the following number of the same periodical there is an interesting discussion of the legislation regarding native language instruction and use of the Spanish language in the colonies, entitled "Testimonio de los Autos formados sobre la provision de la racion de idioma Mexicano," by George T. Smisor.

Students of the history of Paraguay and the Plata region will be interested in learning of the publication of *Descripción e Historia del Paraguay y del Rio de la Plata*, by Felix de Azara (Buenos Aires, 1943).

Leopoldo J. Palacio has published the results of painstaking research in *Primera Legacion Extra-diplomatica de la América Hispana Emancipada a la Curia Romana, bajo el Pontificado de Pio VII (1822)* (Adm. Archivo Ibero-Americano, Madrid, 1943).

Students of Spanish History will welcome the bibliography prepared by Francis Borgia Steck, O. F. M., of the Catholic University, *A Tentative Guide to Historical Materials on the Spanish Borderlands* (Catholic Histori-

cal Society of Philadelphia, 1943). It will prove a valuable tool for both students and professors.

Iconografía Colonial — Retratos de Personajes Notables de la Historiade Mexico Existentes en el Museum Nacional, should prove helpful to students of Mexican history.

E. T. Hall, Jr., is the author of *Early Stockaded Settlements in the Gobernador, New Mexico* (Columbia University, 1943).

There is an interesting article in the periodical *Arizona Highways* (August, 1943), "Of Books and Artifacts," which may serve as an introduction to sources of information on the Southwest.

Louis B. Wright is the author of *Religion and Empire: the Alliance between Piety and Commerce in English Expansion, 1558-1625* (University of North Carolina, 1943).

A six-volume work, *Fuentes para la Historia del Trabajo en Nueva España*, by Silvio Zavala y María Castelo, has recently appeared from the press of Robredo, Mexico.

Mexican history in colonial days is treated in *Cronistas e Historiadores de la Conquista de México*, by Ramon Iglesia (Mexico, El Colegio de Mexico, 1943).

Much that is reminiscent of Franciscan missionaries will be found in the Museum of Modern Art. A volume entitled *Latin American Collection of the Museum of Modern Art* (New York, 1943) describes this exhibit, and is available from the Museum.

Mirador Terrestre, by Andrade Jorge Carrera, will prove helpful to students of Ecuador (Las Américas, Forest Hills, 1943).

The history of Guatemala is represented by *La Audiencia de Guatemala* which is volume five of *Compendio y descripcion de las Indias Occidentales* (Guatemala, Typ. libr. y Papelerio, 1943).

The history of Peru during the sixteenth century has been well done by Ruben Ugarte Vargas, S. J., in his *Historia del Perú Virreynato (1551-1591)* (Lima, Peru, Prensa Periodistica "La Prensa," 1942). Another period of Peruvian history is treated by the same author in *La Conquista a la República* (Lima, Librería e Imprenta Gil, 1943). The latter work makes use of many documents recently destroyed in the fire of the National Library in Lima.

A volume which should prove helpful and interesting to the student of Mexican history is *Diocesis y Obispos de la Iglesia Mexicana, 1519-1939*, (Mexico, Buena Prensa, 1943). This volume contains an appendix on Pope Alexander VI and the Government of Mexico.

A work of monumental proportions on Mexican literature has just appeared from the Southern Methodist University Press, Dallas, Texas. The author of this volume is Carlos González Peña, and its title is *History of Mexican Literature*. Gusta Barfield Nance and Florence Johnson Dunstan collaborated in its English translation, and Angel Flores of the Division of Intellectual Cooperation has written an introduction.

Because of its relation to the colonies, as well as the friars in Spain, *Aportacion a la Historia de la Inquisición Española* (Instituto Jeronimo

Zurita, Madrid, 1942) should be of interest to the student of Spanish American history.

Students of Pre-Columbian history will welcome the work of John L. Stephens and Frederick Catherwood entitled: *Los Mayas Antiguos. Monografías de Arqueología, Etnografía y Lingüística Mayas* (Mexico, Robredo, 1942).

The spring number of the *Provincial Chronicle* of his province reviews the latest work of Berard Haile, O. F. M.: *Origin of the Legend of the Navaho Flintway* (University of Chicago Press, 1943).

The Franciscan, Fray Pedro Simón, is the author of an interesting and valuable description of an expedition to the upper Amazon in northern Peru: *Historial de la Expedición de Ursúa al Marañón y de la Aventuras de Lope de Aguirre* (Lima, 1942).

An important contribution to the study of Mexico's native culture, the knowledge of which is necessary for a correct appreciation of early Mexican history, will be found in José Ignacio Dávila Garibí's article "Toponimias Nahuas..." in *Tlalocan*, volume 1 (1943), no. 1.

La Poblacion Indigena de Mexico is a three-volume work by Carlos Basauri, Secretary of Public Education (Mexico City, 1942).

Devotion to Mary has been in evidence ever since the earliest days of American history, and a notable addition to Mariology was published last year in Seville, Spain, by Editorial Antonio. The work is entitled *La Virgen de la Hispanidad a Santa María de Guadalupe en America*, and its author is G. Villacampa Carlos.

The first number of *Thomistic Studies*, inaugurated by the pontifical faculty of theology, of the Dominican House of Studies, Washington, D. C., is entitled *The Morality of Imperfections*, by the Very Rev. James C. Osbourn, O. P. A number of references to Venerable Duns Scotus in this work will claim the attention of Franciscan theologians.

It will be of interest to students of Canon Law and busy pastors to know that there is now available an up-to-date revision of the famous *Practical Commentary on the Code of Canon Law*, originally written by the late Stanislaus Woywod, O. F. M. The revision was made by Callistus Smith, O. F. M., of the faculty of St. Bonaventure Seminary, and is published by Joseph Wagner, Inc., New York City.

The Rev. Francisco de Solis, S. J., is the author of *La Immaculada Concepción. Estudio histórico-dogmático-litúrgico* (Barcelona, Editorial Lumen, 1941).

Among the recently published works in the field of philosophy the following are worthy of special note. As some of them have appeared abroad, they may not be available until after the war.

Buridanus, Johannes, *Quaestiones super libris Quattuor de Coelo et mundo*, ed. by E. A. Moody. *Studies and documents*, no. 6, and *Publication* n. 40 of the Medieval Academy of America, 1943.

Collin, Enrique, *Manual de filosofía tomista para los alumnos de enseñanza media y superior* (Barcelona, 1942).

Gemelli, Agostino, O. F. M., *La psicologia al servizio dell'Orientamento professionale nelle Scuole* (Bologna, 1943).

Kristeller, Paul Oskar, *The Philosophy of Marsilio Ficino*, translated by Virginia Conant (New York, Columbia University Press, 1943).

Messner, Rembold, O. F. M., *Schauendes und begriffliches Erkennen nach Duns Scotus, mit kritischer Gegenüberstellung zur Erkenntnisslehre von Kant und Aristoteles* (Freiburg i. B., Herder, 1942).

Mueller, Marianus, O. F. M., *Joannis Duns Scoti Tractatus de primo principio*. Editio critica (Freiburg i. B., 1941).

Ockham, William, O. F. M., *Tractatus de Successivis*, ed. by Philotheus Boehner, O. F. M. (Publications of the Franciscan Institute, I) (St. Anthony Guild Press, Paterson, N. J., 1944).

Shircel, Cyril, O. F. M., *Univocity of the Concept of Being in the Philosophy of John Duns Scotus* (Catholic University, 1942).

In the fields of Literature and Art the following items are of Franciscan interest:

Dobie, Frank, *Guide to the Life and Literature of the Southwest* (Austin, University of Texas Press, 1943).

Eijan, Samuel, O. F. M., *La Poesia Franciscana en España, Portugal y America (siglos XIII-XIX): Historia y Antologia* (Santiago de Galicia, El Eco Franciscano, 1943).

Gil-Albert, Juan, and Ortiz, P. A., *Poetas místicos españoles* (Mexico, 1942).

Nadal Mora, Vincente, *Compendio de historia del arte pre-colombiano de Mexico y Yucatan* (Buenos Aires, 1940).

Wilder, M. A., and Breitenbach, Edgar, *Santos—The Religious Folk Art in New Mexico* (Colorado Springs, Taylor Museum, 1943).

Among the books and articles on the Social Sciences and related fields which are of Franciscan authorship or interest, the following have appeared recently.

Wyse, Alexander, O. F. M., *Moral and Social Questions* (St. Anthony Guild Press, Paterson, N. J., 1943).

Gonzales Palencia, Angel, *Historias y legendas. Estudios literarios* (Madrid, 1942).

Chavez Orozco, Luis, *Documentos para la historia de la educación en Mexico. Las primitivas constituciones de Colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo* (Mexico, 1941).

Ceballos, N. R. J., "Character de la educacion entre los antiguos Mexicanos," *Revista Mexicana de Sociologia*, vol. 4 (1942), no. 3.

Madariaga, Bernardo, O. F. M., *Pedagogia Franciscana* (Zarauz, 1942).

Bernstein, Harry, *Foundations of United States Interest in Spanish America, 1700-1810* (University of Pennsylvania, 1943).

Vance, J. T., *Background of Hispanic American Law* (Catholic University, 1937).

Sanchez, George I., *The Development of Higher Education in Mexico* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1943).

Lenhart, John M., O. F. M. Cap., "German American Catholics in Boston, 1846," *Social Justice Review*, September, 1943.

Roemer, Theodore, O. F. M. Cap., *St. Joseph in Appleton: the History of a Parish* (Menasha, Panta Publ., 1943).

Lenhart, John M., O. F. M. Cap., "Father Weniger's Trip from Oregon to San Francisco in 1869," *Social Justice Review*, August, 1943.

Poirier, Léandre, O. F. M., *Au service de nos écrivains* (Quebec, Culture, 1943).

Ryan, Thomas F., S. J., *China through Catholic Eyes*, translated by Enrique Aguilar, O. F. M., of Cali, Colombia (distributed by Catholic Students' Mission Crusade, Cincinnati, O.).

The following articles published in *Archivo Ibero-Americano* during the year 1943 may be of interest to readers of FRANCISCAN STUDIES.

"Protectorado de España en Tierra Santa (1789-1830)," by Samuel Eijan, O. F. M., April-June, pp. 199-218.

"Fray Juan Pobre de Zamora, Procurador de la Provincia de S. Gregorio de Filipinas," by Lorenzo Pérez, O. F. M., pp. 219-238.

"El P. José Ximenez Samaniego, Minister General O. F. M. y Obispo de Plasencia," by Vincent Anibarro, O. F. M., January-March, pp. 5-49.

"Fr. Luis de Carvajal en Jerez de la Frontera, 1532-1541," by Hipólito Sancho, pp. 50-89.

"Algunas noticias sobre Fr. António de Jesus," by Fernando Felix Lopez, O. F. M., pp. 90-101.

The following articles appeared in the June, 1943, issue of the scholarly *Revista Eclesiástica Brasileira*:

Bonifacio Mueller, O. F. M., "O fichário paroquial."

Felisberto Gilles, O. F. M., "Os religiosos e as paróquias" (cont.).

Frei Odulfo, O. F. M., "Pedro Fernandes Sardinha, Primeiro Bispo do Brazil" (cont.).

Among the many interesting and scholarly articles in the 1943 issues of *Culture*, the following were written by Franciscans:

Leonard M. Puech, O. F. M., "Le rôle du caractère Sacramental III," September, 1943.

Edmond Gaudron, O. F. M., "Nation et état," *Ibid.*

Amé Meloche, O. F. M., "La Chansons Canadiennes," June, 1943.

In the *Provincial Annals* (Santa Barbara Province) we note the following, among many interesting articles:

"The Diary of the Rev. Zephyrin Engelhardt, O. F. M."

"The Old Santa Barbara Mission Parish."

"Serra's Thousand Glorious Titles: nos. 194-236."

"The Early Life of Serra" (cont.), by Rev. Leroy Callahan.

"Santa Barbara Through the Years."

The October, 1943, issue also refers to the meeting of the Academy of American Franciscan History, and the various projects under consideration and of interest to Franciscan historians, such as a Catalog of Documents in the Santa Barbara Mission Archives.

Among the many interesting items to be found in *The Provincial*

Chronicle (St. John the Baptist Province) there are two which may prove of particular interest to the readers of FRANCISCAN STUDIES.

"Adventures in Duns Scotus College Library," by Frs. Joyce Finnegan and Bertus Grassman, O. F. M., gives an insight into the wealth of material contained in this Franciscan library.

"St. Bernardine and his Monogram of the Name of Jesus," by the editor of *The Provincial Chronicle*, John B. Wuest, O. F. M., is a scholarly article on this famous and powerful means for the propagation of devotion to the Holy Name, used by St. Bernardine of Siena, the fifth centenary of whose death is celebrated this year.

A copy of the official document declaring the martyrdom of those who died for the faith in the Boxer Rebellion will be found in the October, 1943, issue of *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*. Most of those specifically mentioned are members of the First and Third Orders of St. Francis. The contents of the document in English will be found in *Franciscan Herald and Forum*, October, 1943, pp. 295-296.

Archivum Hibernicum, vol. 9, published by the Catholic Record Society of Ireland, St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, contains a contribution by Dr. Brendan Jennings, O. F. M. Consisting of a series of interesting documents related to the foundation and early years of the Irish Franciscan College at Prague, it contains many letters which are addressed to Fr. Luke Wadding, O. F. M. This reference is from the October, 1943, issue of *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*.

The July-September, 1943, issue of *Archivo Ibero-Americano* (pp. 391-413) contains a summary and digest of a thirty-volume set entitled *Colleccio de documentos inéditos para la historia de Chile . . . 1518-1818*. We are indebted to Fr. Francisco Quecedo for this helpful summary which is entitled: "Documentos referentes a los Franciscanos en Chile, siglo XVI."

Of the many articles on Franciscan topics to be found in current periodicals, the following might be mentioned as being of special interest:

"La Utopia de Tomas Moro en America," *Universidad de la Habana*, VII (July-December, 1943), pp. 63-100.

"Some Prose Tributes of Non-Catholics to St. Francis," by Liam Brophy, O. F. M., in *The Franciscan Review*, October, 1943.

"Spanish-American literature compared with that of the United States," by G. W. Umphrey, *Hispania*, XXVI (February, 1943), pp. 21-34.

"Native Latin American contribution to the colonization and independence of Texas," by E. C. Barker, *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* (April, 1943).

In the world-famous Franciscana collection housed in the Boston Public Library there is a number of copies of the *Fioretti*. These are the subject of an article in *More Books*, XVIII (1943), pp. 163-178.

A newly-founded periodical, *Acta Americana*, carries material of interest to Franciscans in its first number, January-March, 1943.

William A. Hinnebusch, O. P., has contributed an interesting article to *Catholic Historical Review* (October, 1943) entitled: "The Personnel of the

Early English Dominican Province," in which he makes frequent mention of the Franciscans.

"Spanish Friars in the Philippines," by Raymond Kunkel, S. V. D., appeared in *Christian Family and Our Missions* (April, 1943).

The June, 1943, issue of *Art Bulletin* carries a fine article by F. J. Mather, Jr., entitled "Giotto's St. Francis Series at Assisi Historically Considered."

John R. H. Moorman, the author of a recent volume of great bibliographical interest to the student of St. Francis and the Franciscans (*The Sources for the Life of St. Francis of Assisi*), has contributed another item in the form of "Early Franciscan Art and Literature," to be found in the John Rylands Library *Bulletin* (June, 1943).

A modern friar leads a discussion at the "Instituto Amazonicas," a summary of which will be found in *America* (October 23, 1943).

The October, 1943, issue of the *Catholic Historical Review* notes the publication by Raymond J. Clancy, C. S. C., of what is termed an "Official Catholic Directory of the St. Mary's Parish," Austin, Texas. It contains much of interest to the Catholic historian, and the account of the early days of the parish should contain many interesting items of value to the Franciscan historian of the Lone Star State.

In *La Voz Guadalupeana* (October, 1943) there is an article on the work of the religious orders in the evangelization of America. It is entitled "Cada arbol se conoce por su fruto," and was written by Manuel Santamaria.

Sister M. Stanislaus Van Weil, in the newly-founded *Catholic Mission Digest* (November, 1943), tells us how the missions were schools of civilization, and gives due credit to the Franciscan missionaries, in her article "Educational Aspects of the Missions of the Southwest."

The work of St. Francis Solano and other Franciscans who labored in Peru is recalled in a series of articles which appeared in the *Bulletin* of the Pan American Union. The fourth section appeared in the November, 1943, issue under the title, "A sentimental journey in Peru," by Julia MacLean Vinas. Previous instalments were published in the March, 1940, December, 1942, and February, 1943, numbers of the *Bulletin*.

In the November, 1943, number of *More Books*, the monthly publication of the Boston Public Library, Margaret Munsterberg discusses "The Scale of Perfection," by Walter Hilton. She also refers to some of the other important works of this outstanding Augustinian scholar, notably his translations of treatises by St. Bonaventure.

Medievalists and others interested in the history of the mendicant orders will welcome "The Friars of the Sack" in the July, 1943, issue of *Speculum*. Though emphasis is placed on the mendicant orders other than the four recognized by the Council of Lyons in 1274, there are interesting references to the Franciscan order.

Much information of interest to the Franciscan student will be found in the August, 1943, issue of the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, in a contribution by William D. O'Connell entitled "The Cahill Propositions, 1629."

A fine review of the recent publication, *Compendium and Description of the West Indies*, by Fray Antonio Vazquez de Espinosa, translated by Charles Upson Clark (Washington, 1942), will be found in the February, 1943,

issue of *Catholic World*. This work by the famous Carmelite missionary will prove helpful and interesting to the Franciscan historian.

Two articles in *Medium Aevum*, XI (1942), have a special interest for Franciscans. The first is "The *Dulcis Jesu Memoria* in Anglo-Norman Middle French," by S. Harrison Thomson; the second, "John Pecham's *Jerarchie*," by M. Dominica Legge.

"Chaucer: the great Marian Poet," in *Ave Maria* for November 27, 1943, is by Werner Hannan, O. F. M. Cap.

Although neither lengthy nor of a scientific nature, an article entitled "Instruments of Peace," *House and Garden* (Dec., 1943), will delight the heart of any Franciscan.

The latest information on the history and indulgences of the Way of the Cross may be found in "Le Chemin de la Croix," by Fernand Porter, O. F. M., *La Vie des Communates Religieuses*, I (1943), pp. 204-214.

A scholarly treatment of "The Political Philosophy of William of Ockham," by Philotheus Boehner, O. F. M., will be found in *Review of Politics* (October, 1943).

The vitality of Franciscan ideals is evident in "Lay Saints in Modern Italy," *Catholic World* (September, 1943). A large portion of the article is devoted to the Tertiary, Contardo Ferrini (1859-1902).

In the current periodical literature there is no dearth of material by Franciscan authors in both Franciscan and non-Franciscan magazines. The following may be mentioned:

Livarius Oligier, O. F. M., "Francesco Ximénez, O. P.," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, XI (1941).

Juvenal Pfalzer, O. F. M., "Navahos Keep the Faith," *Catholic Mission Digest* (October, 1943).

Theodore Roemer, O. F. M. Cap., "Europe to Our Aid" (a digest of *Ten Decades of Alms*), *Ibid.*

M. Albert O'Neill, O. F. M., "L'humanisme chrétien et l'humanisme tout court," *Culture*, IV (1943), 172-195.

Hermes, Peeters, O. F. M., "Confucianism," *Field Afar* (September, 1943).

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Simon Conrad, O. F. M. Cap., "Christ the Psychologist," *Ibid.*, and "Christ the Conversationalist," *Ibid.* (October, 1943).

James Van der Veldt, O. F. M., "The Recognition of Individual Bodies," *New Scholasticism* (July, 1943).

Juan José de la D. Bailón, "Virtud y Ciencia de San Buenaventura," *Resurgimiento* (Scotus College, Hebbronville, Texas), II (1943), 115-122.

Ignazio M. Ramirez, O. F. M., "Espiritu y caracteres del Escolasticismo," *Ibid.*

Père Hilaire, O. F. M. Cap., "Les plus désespérés," *Revue de L'université d'Ottawa*, XIII (1943), 431-440.

Thomas Borgmeier, O. F. M., "Arthur Neiva, 1880-1943," *Revista de Entomologia* (July, 1943).

Marie Antoine Roy, O. F. M., "L'esprit d'adoption," *Revue Eucharistique Clergé*, XLVI (1943), 184-194.

Sixtus Patrick, O. F. M. Conv., "Life and Works of Pope Sixtus IV," *Rostrum*, Rensselaer, N. Y. (October, 1943).

Guy Brisebois, O. F. M., "La Loi Canonique, son contenu," *La Vie de Communautés Religieuses*, I (1943), 140-141.

Nérée M. Beaudet, O. F. M., "Perfection et charité," and "Salut et perfection," *Ibid.*

Jean Joseph Deguire, O. F. M., "L'enseignement du Catéchisme au Canada," *Ibid.*

According to the first number of the new publication, *Notes on Latin American Studies* (April, 1943), pp. 7-46, a survey, embracing a study of personnel and activities, has been made concerning the Latin American aspects of the Humanities and the Social Sciences at twenty universities in the United States. Also mentioned is the study made by Irving A. Leonard on the resources and special collections to be found at these institutions.

The second number of the same periodical (October, 1943) lists some research projects in Spanish colonial history, compiled by Lawrence Kinnaird and Madeline W. Nichols. Also to be found in the same number are special anthropological and geographical problems of Latin America, the discussion of which should prove interesting to the Franciscan historian.

About ten years ago there was initiated a project, now outlined in the same issue of *Notes*, comprising a study of contemporary culture patterns in Latin America. The product of many minds and several committees, this research project covers nine major fields of study, and has been brought up to date.

The April-June, 1943, issue of *Archivo Ibero-Americano* carries an obituary notice of its founder: M. R. Andres de Ocerinjauregui Bengoechea.

In the October, 1943, issue of the *Catholic Historical Review*, Rev. Joseph T. Durkin, S. J., of the University of Scranton, points out that there is a rich source-collection for Catholic scholars of the *Risorgimento* period in the Henry Gray Collection at Harvard University Library.

A Center of Historical Studies for Latin American Students has been established by the Colegio de Mexico.

The September 5, 1943, issue of *Orate Fratres* tells of the founding of an Academia Benedictina in America, at St. Paul's Priory, Keyport, N. J. This institute for liturgical and monastic studies opened in October, 1943, and is intended principally, but not exclusively, for members of the Benedictine order. A two year course of thorough instruction in liturgy and monasticism, with emphasis on scholarly work, are some of the features of the Academia.

The October, 1943, issue of *Mid-America* contains an interesting program of research followed for the past five years by a group of specialists in the ethno-history of the Upper Mississippi Valley. In broad outline, the program could serve as an example for the study of local history elsewhere. It includes the discovery of all relevant documentary material available by a systematic search of archives, letters, reports, and other records; the assembling of this material, by means of photostat or microfilm copies, in one central place for easy use by students; and finally the publication of portions of this material whenever feasible.

The new periodical *Tlalocan* carries an announcement that soon there will be available for students of Mexican and Southwestern history many sources of information heretofore only accessible in key libraries. Many source books on Mexico, in addition to much archival material, are being microfilmed by, and will be available from, Southwest Microfilm, Inc., Box 152, Dallas, Texas.

It is interesting to note in the December, 1943, issue of the Library of Congress *Information Bulletin* that a library science course is to be established soon at the National Library of Peru. In describing the curriculum of this school, mention is made of the fact that a Franciscan friar of Lima, who is an authority on the subject, will teach paleography.

With sorrow the whole world read of the recent destruction of the buildings of the Catholic University of Milan. *Il Crociato*, a Catholic weekly, carried the full story in its September 25, 1943, issue. So far, no word has been received about Father Agostino Gemelli, O. F. M., rector of this university.

It may be of interest to note the appearance of several new periodicals devoted to Franciscan subjects, or to topics closely associated with things Franciscan. The following may be mentioned:

Bibliotheca Hispana, described in the April-June, 1943, issue of *Archivo Ibero-Americano*.

Revista Española de Pedagogia, described in the same issue.

Verdad y Vida, published in Madrid, with Isidoro Rodriguez, O. F. M., as director.

Estudios Historicos; Revista semestral, Guadalajara, Jal., Mexico.

El Ensayo; Revista científico-literaria, dirigida por los Estudiantes Franciscanos de Bogotá, Columbia.

Tlalocan, a journal of source materials on the native cultures of Mexico.

IRENÆUS HERSCHER, O. F. M.

St. Bonaventure College,
St. Bonaventure, N. Y.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Priesthood in a Changing World. By John A. O'Brien, Ph. D., LL. D.
(Paterson, N. J.: St. Anthony Guild Press, 1943. Pp. xiv+326. \$2.00.)

On the dust-cover of this revised edition of Doctor O'Brien's book there is a striking picture of the Divine Master against a background of modern skyscrapers, shops, and factories — a symbolical summary of the book's message: to show the "other Christs" of today how to realize their priestly ideals in a changing world. Four timeless ideals inspire the priest in every age, namely, the achievement of personal sanctity, the fulfillment of the pastoral ministry, the salvation of the lost sheep, and the enlargement of the Church's influence. In its four main sections, this volume comes to grips with pressing modern problems and seeks their solution in the light of these unchanging ideals. Every one of the fourteen chapters has a challenging and attractive title and the contents always reward the reader.

A comparison with the first edition reveals that one chapter of the original work, "Safeguarding the Little Ones," has been omitted; another chapter, "Voices from the Pews," has been given the new title, "Professional Hazards," and has been quite extensively revised; the complete text of the encyclical, *Ad Catholici Sacerdotii*, of Pius XI concludes the present work, whereas the earlier edition contained merely a brief summary of the document.

Although the world of 1944 presents much the same problems as the world of 1934, Doctor O'Brien's timely revisions show that the dangers which confronted the Church a decade ago have become acute today. At the same time certain hopeful factors have appeared on the American Catholic scene. In great part because of the work of Doctor O'Brien and those who collaborated with him in writing *The White Harvest*, convert-work in the United States has become better organized and is achieving better results. The Confraternity of Christian Doctrine was hardly mentioned in the first edition, but a brief account of its work requires five pages in the present book. On page 99 — through an oversight in the revision — we still read (what was true a decade ago) that "the nearest approach in America to the work of the Catholic Evidence Guild in England is the missionary activity of Mr. David Goldstein of Boston," but on page 194 there is a description of the splendid Catholic Evidence Work which is now being conducted in many parts of the country.

The format of this volume, measuring up to the high standards of the St. Anthony Guild Press, makes it an ideal gift-book for the occasion of Ordination and First Mass.

ANSCAR PARSONS, O. F. M. CAP.

*St. Anthony's Seminary,
Marathon, Wis.*

Mater Ecclesia. By Joseph C. Plumpe. (Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1943. Pp. xxi+150. \$2.00.)

Every Catholic priest comes upon the words "Mater Ecclesia" in the recitation of his Breviary, in the Lessons and the Commentaries taken from the

Fathers of the Church, especially those of St. Augustine and St. Cyprian. Father Plumpe has written an erudite treatise *Mater Ecclesia* which clearly sets forth the origin and the true meaning of that title.

The author divides his inquiry into "the concept of the Church as Mother in early Christianity" into eight chapters. In the first chapter he focuses his attention on the "Scriptural Prototypes and Contemporary Pagan-Gnostic Analogies" of the expression "Mater Ecclesia;" and in Chapter II he presents "The Christian Anticipations" as found in the Church writers of the second century. Chapter III contains "The Earliest Evidence of the Word 'Mater,'" used as a title designating the Church. From the frequency and spontaneity with which the Church is termed Mother Church in the writings of Tertullian and St. Cyprian, the author infers that this practice began in the African Church and elsewhere before the close of the second century. The well-known apologies of this century do not disclose any references to the Church as Mother, but this omission is explained by the fact that they were addressed to pagans and are dominantly philosophic in thought. Other writings, like the *Epistola Ecclesiarum Viennensis et Lugdunensis*, the monumental work of St. Irenaeus *Adversus Haereses*, very amply prove the author's claim. Chapter IV is devoted solely to Tertullian in whose writings the term "Mother" is used by attribution as a title or by predication as an office or function of the Church. Nine classical places are cited from which "it is clear that the concept of the Church's motherhood was even more familiar than it is to Catholics today." In Chapter V the tradition of the Greek Church relative to the term "Mother" is considered, and excerpts from Clement of Alexandria and Origen are presented. Chapter VI comprises more than thirty passages of St. Cyprian which date to his pastoral years as a bishop of the African Church. In Chapter VII the author closes his treatise on "Mother Church" by discussing *The Banquet, or On Virginity* of St. Methodius of Philippi in which the bishop-martyr presents a much more real picture of the Church as a Mother, one that is truer to the Apostolic tradition and to the condition of the Church "super terram," than does Origen. The final chapter is a retrospect entitled "Rome's Silence." In it the author traces the origin of the term "Mater Ecclesia" to Asia Minor or Phrygia, by way of Antioch, the center of Christianity in the second century. He also discusses how Christianity reached Africa and explains why the Church of Rome was silent on the term "Mater Ecclesia" by pointing out that "it was not Roman to think or speak of the Ecclesia as Mater Ecclesia," and "the imagination of the Romans themselves was far more sober and straightened; the figure and personification of the Church as Mother Church that appealed so, before Augustine, to the half-Romans, Tertullian and Cyprian, found no responsive chord in the native Roman ethos" (p. 127). Four plates of early church mosaics, paintings, and inscriptions corroborate the author's conclusive arguments about "Mater Ecclesia."

Father Plumpe's monograph is one of those scholarly works which from the very first page to the last hold the attention of the reader. This interesting study should be of great value not only to scholars, to specialists in Dogmatic Theology and Patrology, but also to those entering upon specialized

studies. Every seminary library should have this work on its shelf as a reference work.

NORBERT ZONCA, O. F. M. CONV.

St. Hyacinth's Seminary,
Granby, Mass.

The Case for Christianity. By Clive Staples Lewis. (New York. Macmillan, 1943. Pp. 56. \$1.00.)

This little book was published in England under the title *Broadcast Talks*. As the title of the American edition implies, it is a popular apology for Christianity. In the argumentation, two viewpoints are used, one philosophical, the other religious. Hence the division into two parts. Part One is entitled: "Right and Wrong as a Clue to the Meaning of the Universe;" Part Two is called "What Christians Believe." Each of these parts is again divided into five talks. It was originally a series of radio-talks given in England by Dr. Lewis, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, a former atheist and a convert to the Church of England.

Ten propositions or important ideas are presented in the ten talks. Putting them all together, the reader finds in his grasp a brief, understandable, yet convincing defense of Christianity. In the first talk Dr. Lewis makes it quite clear that everyone believes in Right and Wrong, or, as he puts it, "human beings all over the earth have this curious idea that they *ought* to behave in a certain way, and they can't really get rid of it." As a corollary, he points out the sad fact that men do not in fact behave that way.

In the second talk he discusses the nature of this feeling for Right and Wrong, this Moral Law which all men know. His method is refutation of objections. Some call it herd-instinct, but, he points out with admirable clarity, it cannot be instinct — as often as not, it is contrary to our instinct. Then comes the objection that it is mere social convention. Distinguishing between social convention (e. g., using the left side of the road) and real truths (e. g., those of mathematics), and showing how moral reforms prove the objective nature of morality, he then points out that wrongness consists in lack of conformity with the moral law. There is something real about this moral law; something above us all.

It is a logical step to treat next of the universe and its Maker. For only one thing can account for our universe, some Lawmaker, Director, or Guide. The last talk of this part clinches the argument for the necessity of some religion, pointing out our dependence upon this Somebody.

In Part Two, Pantheism and Atheism are refuted, Christianity is upheld as the most reasonable form of religion. Christianity fights the power of evil in the world, as must individuals. Man, having leagued with evil, must repent, though he cannot without supernatural aid. This aid was given by the Incarnation and Redemption. Though he cannot explain the way in which this aiding is accomplished, man should (or may) be content with the fact that it is. (At this point, the Catholic reader proceeds with caution; but though the emphasis may be strong, there is nothing heretical.) The act of Redemption is the basis of Christianity. The Christian must carry on the battle against the Prince of Evil.

Sketchy as it is, this summary gives an indication of the nature of the book. As a defense of Christianity, it contains nothing new. Its chief value is its interesting and clear style. I do not suppose it would produce an immediate conversion, but at the same time it ought to start a sincere man thinking.

The question of evil is clearly one of great interest to the author. In presenting the view of the Pantheists, that God is beyond good and evil, he does not refute it sufficiently. The fallacy is said to lie in equalizing different levels of thought, but it is by no means answered. On page 33, objective evil seems a certainty, absolute; on page 38, however, it is only relative: objective evil, especially in the social commandments, is not iron-bound. What is his opinion?

On page 42 it is said that a world of automata — creatures that work like machines — would not be worth creating. This would seem to ignore the planets and the stars, for we are an infinitesimally small part of the universe. Or does this statement imply that there are other peoples in that vast world of revolving planets?

Existence, intelligence, and will are in themselves good — but, while this can be accepted on faith, there should be some reasonable proof presented. There is an implication that it would have been better never to have existed than to exist and run the risk of ineffable reward or unfathomable punishment; though the author does answer this with the statement that God thought it was worth the risk, somehow this does not satisfy as an explanation.

FRANCIS JANN

*Christ the King Seminary,
St. Bonaventure, N. Y.*

The Nature of Demonstrative Proof according to the Principles of Aristotle and St. Thomas Aquinas. By Owen Bennett, O. M. C., Ph. D. (Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1943. Pp. 97.)

As long as there are human intellects athirst for learning, there will be a need for books which provide a better understanding of the way to attain knowledge. Father Owen very successfully accomplishes this purpose and fills this need in his treatise on demonstrative proof.

After pointing out the necessity of commonly accepted first principles as the foundation of all knowledge, he explains the pre-existent knowledge necessary for a demonstrative syllogism. This foreknowledge concerns the existence and the nature of the subject and predicate, and it will differ according to the various types of demonstration. Adhering closely to Aristotelian-Thomistic doctrine and language, Father Owen clearly distinguishes between the demonstration *a priori* and *a posteriori*, and between the demonstration *propter quid* and *quia*. Every *propter quid* demonstration must be *a priori*, but not every *a priori* demonstration is *propter quid*. Noteworthy is the explanation of the difference between univocal and analogous proof from effect to cause.

Throughout the analysis the author refers to the principle of contradiction as the principle of non-contradiction (cf., e. g., pp. 12, 15, 49, 86, etc.).

Hence it was probably an oversight when he wrote on p. 7: "What is grasped immediately in judgment about this first notion of being is the most fundamental of all the complex principles of thought, the principle of identity or non-contradiction." According to St. Thomas (cf. *In Met.* IV, lect. 6, nn. 597 *et seq.*), first in the order of simple apprehension is being, and consequently some authors here place as first the principle of identity. But in the order of judgment, as St. Thomas teaches, the principle of contradiction is first. Usually the Angelic Doctor has only one principle in mind when he speaks of the first principle, and that is the principle of contradiction.

Father Owen shows the erroneous thinking of the logical positivists, as well as the fallacious tendency of scientists to substitute systematic explanation for demonstrative proof. In the form of constructive criticism he provides eight rules for the scientists who have not learned the eight laws of logic.

In this book Father Owen has made a worth-while contribution to the problem of knowledge and scientific demonstration. We trust he will continue to publish other philosophical treatises not only to illuminate the way to knowledge but also to extend the horizon of human cognition.

BASIL HEISER, O. F. M. CONV.

*Our Lady of Carey Seminary,
Carey, Ohio.*

Art and Poetry. By Jacques Maritain. (New York: Philosophical Library, 1943. Pp. 104. \$1.75.)

In *Art and Scholasticism* Jacques Maritain set forth the fundamental principles of a Scholastic philosophy of art and the beautiful. In the preface of this new work, *Art and Poetry*, he writes: "In my book *Art and Scholasticism* I intended to consider the essentials of art rather than the nature of poetry. Later on, it was this mysterious nature that I became more and more eager to scrutinize." He turned his attention to the "mysterious nature" of poetry in a chapter entitled "The Frontiers of Poetry," which was added to the second French edition of *Art and Scholasticism* and which appears in the English translation of that work. The present volume, *Art and Poetry*, contains a continuation of the enquiry begun in that chapter.

Art and Poetry is made up of three chapters, quite different in form, yet unified by the central and common end of showing forth the nature of poetry as a "divination of the spiritual in the realm of the senses, to be expressed in the same realm" (p. 10).

In the first chapter the enquiry proceeds through a consideration of the work of three modern painters, Marc Chagall, Georges Roualt, and Gino Severini. The second chapter carries on the scrutiny of the central theme by means of short comments and observations which, the author tells us in the preface, are "but the continuation in written form of some Parisian conversations and controversies," the interlocutors being present either as listening or as occasionally responding through brief quotations from their own works or writings. These all too brief pages make one regret that Maritain has not chosen to express himself more frequently in this Pascalian genre.

The third chapter, entitled "The Freedom of Song," contains a sustained analysis of the process in which the poetic or creative idea, in itself an invisible dart of intuition, "an emotion transverberated by intelligence," bears fruit outside the mind in an original work of art. The material work itself, Maritain tells us, is "the object not of knowledge but of creation, or rather, the object of creative knowledge which in its essence is forming and not formed, producing and not produced" (p. 82). Thus, poetic knowledge, which is creative, is essentially opposed to the copy-knowledge of academicism, and bears in itself some analogy to the uncreated creative knowledge of God, the first Poet. The author's development of this analogy comprises the most profound passages in the whole volume, and the part that will be of most interest to the metaphysician and the theologian.

Many of the allusions in *Art and Poetry* will be obscure for the reader who is not thoroughly familiar with the art and the artists mentioned. This difficulty, however, does not constitute a serious obstacle to the intelligent pursuit of the main theme, nor will it dim the appreciation of the artistic excellence that characterizes every page of this short work. In Maritain we have a philosopher who does not merely write about the poets: he is himself a poet.

OWEN BENNETT, O. F. M. CONV.

St. Anthony-on-Hudson,
Rensselaer, N. Y.

The Rights of Man and Natural Law. By Jacques Maritain. Translated by Doris C. Anson. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1943. Pp. 119. \$1.50).

This, one of the latest books of the well-known Catholic philosopher, is a short but brilliant essay on Political Philosophy. Its purpose, as the author points out (p. 1), is to clarify the reader's ideas upon a question of the relationship between the person and society, and the rights of the human person — a vital problem of political philosophy.

At the outset of his essay, the author determines the value of the human person. In man "there lives a soul which is a spirit and which has a greater value than the whole physical universe" (p. 3). The human person exists by virtue of the existence of its soul, which is the root of personality (p. 3). In successive strides the author outlines the concept of society, its principles, its task, and its goal. The sub-chapter "Totalitarianism and Personalism" is of exceptional value. In it the philosopher outlines with great precision and clarity the relations between the human person, as part of a society, and society.

In the succeeding paragraphs Maritain expounds the underlying principles of a society of free men. Upon the acknowledgment of these principles the progress of society depends. The concept of a society, outlined by the author, is characterized by four features: it is a *personalist* society, *communal*, *pluralist*, and *theist* (pp. 20-22); these four characteristics mark a vitally Christian society (pp. 23-29).

The true nature of a political society is further developed in the subchapter "The Common Task," in which the author discusses the essential and primordial objective for which men assemble within a political community. The primary objective of a political community "is to procure the common good of the multitude, in such a manner that each concrete person, not only in a privileged class, but throughout the whole mass, may truly reach that measure of independence which is proper to civilized life and which is insured alike by the economic guarantees of work and property, political rights, civil virtues, and the cultivation of the mind" (p. 44). The conception of political society, the primordial objective of which has thus been determined, is based upon the reality of human nature and the human person. It represents the only true political philosophy (p. 50).

The second part of the book is devoted to the exposition of the rights of a human person as a part of a political society. The author discusses the concept of natural law and human rights, and, in particular, the rights of the human person (pp. 73-83), of the civic person (pp. 83-91), of the working person (pp. 92-111).

Professor Jacques Maritain's contribution to political philosophy is indeed very timely. At the present time it is of capital importance that we have a clear concept of the philosophical principles which underlie society.

GREGORY GRABKA, O. F. M. CONV.

*St. Hyacinth's Seminary,
Granby, Mass.*

An Outline History of the Church by Centuries. By Joseph McSorley, C. S. P. (St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder Co., 1943. Pp. xxx+1084. \$7.50.)

The present history of the Catholic Church — original in thought and structure in that it is not a translation from a foreign language and that it follows an arrangement by centuries rather than one of logical units or epochs, much like Gemelli's *Il Francescanesimo* — has been favorably reviewed in various periodicals and Catholic weeklies. The purpose of this review is specific, i. e., a closer evaluation of matters purely Franciscan contained in this volume.

In general it can be admitted that Father McSorley, in a one-volume work dedicated to the whole Catholic Church throughout twenty centuries, has given a generous amount of space to the history of the Franciscan order. The following remarks then are not directly critical but rather explanatory and supplementary, offered in the hope that they may be considered for future editions. A few facts pertaining to the early history of the order might have been less confusing if given in connection with St. Francis as founder of the Order of Friars Minor; the other events of his life, e. g., his virtues, stigmatization, canonization, etc., would then be put in the paragraph or section reserved for great saints of the Middle Ages. As it is, some points pertaining to the order are contained in one paragraph, some in another. A generous number of exponents of the Franciscan School are listed (p. 407), but it might have been well to note the fact that Alexander

of Hales in later life became a Franciscan, whereas Bishop Robert Grosseteste, mentioned under the same heading, did not. One might have wished to see other works of St. Bonaventure, besides his *Life of St. Francis*, listed by name, e. g., his *Commentaries on the Sentences*, his *Breviloquium*, his *De Sex Alis* (pp. 407-408); also to see credit given, at least in a footnote, to the excellent edition of his *Opera Omnia* by the Franciscan Fathers at Quaracchi, as well as to the new edition of the works of Alexander of Hales. The theoretical disputes concerning poverty during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the quarrels of the friars with the university of Paris, and the controversies concerning the hearing of confessions of seculars, with bishops and priests, are concisely and fairly presented. The same is true of Duns Scotus' invaluable contribution in the clarification of the theological disputes concerning the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception (pp. 416-7), the prominent part taken by Franciscans in the editing of correct versions of the Sacred Scriptures (pp. 405-6), and the desertion of the friars from Wiclif — despite their high appreciation of the spirit of poverty which he exalted — once the English heretic denied Transubstantiation.

The statement (p. 507) that "in 1446 Eugene IV published the Bull of separation, which made the vicar general of the Observants a permanent official, independent of the minister general of the Order" needs to be modified. A formal "division" indeed took place under Eugene IV, the "separation" was effected only a century later under Leo X (1517). Nor is it exactly true that under Eugene IV the "vicar general of the Observants was made *independent* of the minister general," since the Pope, at the desire of St. John Capistran, still demanded the general's approval for the vicar general. This was the very idea inherent in the term *vicar*. The color mentioned as being that of the "original Franciscan habit" is not borne out by historical and artistic research. The "Montes Pietatis" were fostered also by Capuchins. In the section treating of Franciscan missions the author has neglected entirely to say any word about the noble work done by the Conventuals in their missions of the Orient — Constantinople, Greece, Moldavia, and Roumania — down the centuries. The same applies to their missions in China, Japan, and Africa. Due regard, on the other hand, has been given to the excellent missionary activities of the Observant and Discalced Franciscans in Mexico, North and South America (pp. 719-720), and in the Portuguese colonies (719-720), also to the sacrificing labors of the Capuchins in Louisiana.

The print is clear-cut and easily legible. The book is embellished with a date chart for each century, with a generous number of maps (32 in line, and 5 in colors), and with a good supply of footnotes. The index appears complete, the bibliography sufficiently adequate for the ordinary student, and the two appendices (a list of Popes and a list of councils) are very serviceable. This reviewer was pleased to note that the Franciscan Pope Alexander V, whom Leo XIII once called "Decessor noster," was not listed as an anti-pope, but, as should be, as the Pisan Pope. It was particularly gratifying to note that special regard was taken for the Church in America, so frequently neglected in English translations from foreign works; and

that facts are presented without controversy or resentment. McSorley's *History*, whatever its minor defects may be, is a distinct contribution to the writing of Church history by an American.

RAPHAEL M. HUBER, O. F. M. CONV.

St. Bonaventure's Convent,
Washington, D. C.

The White Canons of St. Norbert. A History of the Premonstratensian Order in the British Isles and America. By Cornelius James Kirkfleet, O. Praem. (Paterson, N. J.: St. Anthony Guild Press, 1943. Pp. xix+307. \$2.50.)

Father Kirkfleet states in the Foreword that the purpose of this publication is "to assemble in one volume for some future historian the scattered historical sources and particular studies concerning the [Premonstratensian] Order in the British Isles and in America," at a time when the order "is about to celebrate the first centenary of its coming to the United States (1843), and the eighth centenary of the establishment of its first abbey in England (1143)," and (he might have added) the fiftieth anniversary of the beginnings of the present establishment in Wisconsin (1893). The underlying reason, a truly valid one, seems to be the diffusion of some knowledge about the Norbertines, for "the Order of St. Norbert is little known among English-speaking people."

After the Foreword by the author, and a beautiful pen picture of an abandoned abbey by the Rev. Canon Galpin, under the title "Fact and Fantasy," Father Kirkfleet proceeds to sketch the early history of the order in the first chapter. He presents, in three parts, the history of the order in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales. This comprises the foundation, the rapid spread, the suppression in the Protestant revolt, and the resuscitation in England and Ireland. For this information he leans heavily on Abbot Charles Hugo, O. Praem., Cardinal Gasquet, O. S. B., and W. H. Grattan Flood. The fourth part details the work of the order in the Americas. Four appendices present documents concerning European abbeys. The fifth appendix contains some correspondence concerning the proposed removal of the abbey at Berne to the United States in 1808. The sixth reproduces the correspondence concerning the missions on the Belgian peninsula of Wisconsin. The seventh has the letters and documents concerning the West De Pere foundation. A short bibliography and a well-ordered index complete the book. Twenty-three illustrations enhance its appearance.

As a partial treasure-book of the order, the work serves its purpose. The documents preserved in the appendices, particularly those referring to the United States, are valuable; the descriptions of the British abbeys are interesting. But if these descriptions are to be preserved, it would seem that it should have been done in a separate volume, even though archival sources are not used directly. As matters stand, the three European parts compose three-fourths of the book. The addition of the fourth, the American part, is defended by the tenuous reason that the opening years are now centenary anniversaries — even though seven hundred years apart. There appears to be but a slight connection. It would seem that the fourth part on the Americas should afford sufficient material for a book of its own — it is suffi-

ciently important. The possible relationship of the Norbertines with the Norse expeditions, their activities in colonial Latin America, the labors of individual members of the order in our Republic, the Wisconsin attempt, and the later successful Wisconsin foundation, should afford ample material for a most enlightening dissertation. Of course, an attempt would have to be made to reach the sources instead of relying on the writings of others.

Concerning the parts with which the present reviewer is more intimately acquainted, he would offer some strictures. It does not seem quite correct to state that the documents in the Baltimore archives concerning the Berne proposal of 1808 were "discovered" by a Norbertine in 1939 (p. 205), for mention of them will be found in Msgr. Guilday's *The Life and Times of John Carroll* (p. 506, note). The author also seems too complacently to accept as final and complete the observations of Dr. Johnson on the Inama letters published in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* (1927-1928), for later notes on this subject by the same authority in the *Salesianum* during the thirties would have convinced him that it is not entirely necessary to put off explanations until the "fat octave-size manuscript volumes" of Father Gaertner may be found (p. 218). The donations of the Austrian Leopoldinen-Stiftung and the Bavarian Ludwig-Missionsverein should not have been confused (p. 217). The official reports of these societies (cf. *Ten Decades of Alms*, p. 234) credit Vienna with \$400, Munich with \$4,880. Other donations may have been given by the respective countries, but they were not gifts of the societies. It is unfortunate that the author did not have access to more archival matter concerning his order.

Credit must indeed be given to Father Kirkfleet for his intense interest in the history of his order and for the presentation of some important highlights. It would seem, however, that his order would become better known in this country if he had presented its current American affairs in connection with their origin in valiant Holland, which has done much pioneer work for the Church in our country and in the missions of the world. We are waiting for such authoritative histories of religious orders in the United States, as an aid to obtaining a more complete history of the Church in our country.

THEODORE ROEMER, O. F. M. CAP.

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Western Civilization, the Decline of Rome to 1660. By Francis J. Tschan, Harold J. Grimm, and J. Duane Squires. (Chicago, Ill.: J. B. Lippincott, 1942. Pp. xciii+783. \$3.25.)

This college history text, which in most respects should be a joy to teacher and class, contains some fifteen or twenty references to St. Francis and things Franciscan. St. Francis himself is treated with sympathy and insight. The authors show how the troubadours influenced his mentality and his conception of "Lady Poverty," and how Francis, in turn, was an inspiration for the art of Giotto and for the vernacular poetry of Dante. The journey of St. Francis to the Orient and its motive are described, as well as the later missionary adventures of the friars in Africa, the Far East, and Latin

America. Indeed, friar missionary effort, resulting from "the conviction of the founders of the friar orders that the crusades could be successful only through apostolic persuasion in the spirit of Christ" is represented as a major cause of the epoch-making discoveries of Columbus. The Third Order and the *Montes Pietatis* are mentioned as works of the friars which supplemented their popular religious and social preaching — "highly seasoned by the imponderables which grip human nature and which the Franciscans knew so well." The external achievements of the friars are given generous treatment.

The internal constitutional history of the order does not fare so well. It is hard to see what is meant by the statement that "... in 1223 (and again in 1230), the Rule was elaborated, much to the distress of the founder." In 1223 St. Francis finished the final draft of the Rule amid much distress of spirit, but this Rule, approved by Honorius III, expresses the full seraphic vocation. Its observance, "purely and without gloss," is urged by Francis in his Testament. In 1230 Pope Gregory IX issued the bull, *Quo Elongati*. This was the first papal interpretation of the Rule and, if it disappointed the more zealous by declaring that the Testament was merely of counsel, it did not change the Rule itself.

Though the story of the Capuchins is told briefly and accurately, we are informed that "the Spiritual Franciscans, or observants [were] that faction of the followers of Saint Francis of Assisi which had split from the moderates or conventuals. . . . Their support of Louis the Bavarian in his struggles with the papacy, and their constant assaults upon Thomistic theology led John XXII to pronounce them heretics . . ." (p. 485). This statement confuses the events of two centuries, mistakenly identifying the left-wing Spirituals of the fourteenth century with the Observants of the fifteenth.

It is unfortunate that this textbook cannot be given an unqualified recommendation for use in colleges. The content is presented in an attractive manner so that it provides a motive for reading and study. The arrangement is psychological. The physical make-up is ideal. The first half of the book, "The Early Middle Ages" and "Feudal Times," is splendidly done. Even though feudal institutions were so different from those of the present day, the times are described with an appreciative realization that this is the story of our own ancestral culture. The second half, "Europe in the late Middle Ages" and "The Early Modern Era," in some points is not sufficiently sensitive to recent research and contains a number of outmoded clichés: for instance, Boniface VIII lacked morality; Alexander VI mixed poison so indiscriminately for his enemies that he himself fell victim to a dose he had intended for another; Gregory XIII prescribed an annual *Te Deum* to celebrate the Massacre of St. Bartholomew; despite a footnote setting forth the correct doctrine on indulgences, John Tetzel continues to "sell" them in the text.

The book suffers some of the same disunity of outlook which besets western civilization itself. For instance, on page 483 it is said that St. Thomas Aquinas provided "the theoretical basis for papal absolutism and . . . the dogma [developed later] of the supreme power of the Pope over spiritual and secular life," whereas on page 364 it is clearly stated that, according to

St. Thomas, the Church "has *potestas directa* only in spiritual matters, its power over temporal concerns being limited to cases that involve the spiritual or supernatural." Perhaps the careful teacher will be able to remedy these defects and give his students an integrated view. Certainly the discriminating graduate who desires to brush up on his knowledge of the period will read this work with pleasure. *Western Civilization* is also available in the following editions: *Western Civilization, the Decline of Rome to the Present*; *Western Civilization since 1660*; *Western Civilization since 1500*; and a new edition, *Western Civilization, the First and Second World Wars*.

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FIRST PAGE OF THE 1635 PRINTING OF DE LA HAYE'S EDITION
 OF THE *Opera Omnia* OF ST. BERNARDINE
 (*vide*, p. 232)

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ST. BERNARDINE AND HIS TIMES*

ST. BERNARDINE of Siena, the great Franciscan preacher, reformer, and devotee of the Holy Name of Jesus, was born at Massa, a town near Siena, of the noble family of Albizeschi, September 8, 1380. Left an orphan at the age of six, he was reared by his pious aunts. Later he studied civil and canon law, and under the wise and prudent direction of the Conventual Franciscan, Bl. John of Ristori, made rapid-progress in sanctity. In 1400 he helped with heroic personal sacrifice the plague-stricken of Siena and, assisted by ten other companions, took charge of a hospital. During this time he is said to have contracted an illness from which he never fully recovered. On September 8, 1402, he entered the Order of Friars Minor at the convent of San Francesco in Siena. In the company of Ristori he retired after two months to a little friary of the Observance at Columbaio, a village outside the city, to complete his novitiate. On September 8, 1403, he made his religious profession of vows, and on September 8, 1404, he was ordained to the priesthood. The very next year he founded the Observant friary at Capriola, near Siena, and was appointed its superior. The chronicle

*Paper read at the Twenty-sixth Annual Meeting of the Franciscan Educational Conference, St. Francis College, Burlington, Wis., June 26-28, 1944.

of the convent at Siena shows that he was affiliated to that convent in 1413 when he was elected its *discretus*, which office gave him the right to represent the convent at various provincial gatherings, e. g., at Provincial Chapters, etc. In 1417 he was guardian of the Observant friary at Fiesole, near Florence. From that time on he rapidly became one of the most eloquent speakers of all Italy, so much so that, according to Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (the future Pope Pius II), he was listened to as another Paul the Apostle.¹ He preached his first sermon by order of Nicholas Anthony of Uzano, Vicar of Bl. John Strocone.² Because of the many important events of his life which occurred on the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary (September 8) this day became an eventful one in the life of the Saint.

He became so famous as a preacher that there was hardly a city in all Italy which did not hear his voice.³ In 1419 he traversed the Romagna, and the following year he preached in Bergamo, Brescia, Verona, Vicenza, and Venice. In 1423 he gave sermons at Ferrara, Reggio, Modena, Mantua, and throughout the Province of Lombardy; in 1424, at Prato; during 1424 and 1425, at Florence; during the month of May, 1425, in his native city of Siena;⁴ in 1425, in Perugia;⁵ in 1426, at Viterbo;⁶ and in 1427, again in Florence, Siena, in Assisi and the neighboring towns of Umbria, and in Rome. His mission was one of peace. Everywhere he endeavored to suppress not only party and family strifes among seculars, but also misunderstandings among his own brethren. During his apostolic labors in Italy he dwelt as much in the convents of the Conventuals as in the hermitages of the Observants, for the Franciscan order was as yet

1. Hyacinthus Sbaralea, O. F. M. Conv., *Supplementum et Castigatio ad Scriptores Trium Ord. Fr. Min. a Waddingo aliisque conscriptos* (Rome: Editio Nardecchia, 1908), p. 137.

2. Lucas Wadding, O. F. M., *Annales Minorum (A. M.)* (Quaracchi, 3 ed., 1931 etc.), IX, 268. "Hic cognita fratris Bernardini senensis virtute, excellentia, sanctitate, insigni devotione, praeclara in divinis litteris eruditione, concionandi provinciam demandavit."

3. "Fiducia in Deo collata, ibat per regiones et civitates, annunciabat hominibus virtutes et vitia, gloriam et poenas sempiternas. Tanta autem divinae gratiae largitate perfundeatur ab omnibus et honaretur et cum multa reverentia exciperetur et auscultaretur, haud secus atque quidam Christi Apostolus." *AM*, IX, 270, No. 8. Cf. *American Ecclesiastical Review*, Vol. 65 (1921), 29-36; *A. M.*, XII, 187-263; *FRANCISCAN STUDIES*, XXV, No. 1 (Mar., 1944), 4-5.

4. Cf. *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum (A. F. H.)*, VIII, 678.

5. Cf. *Miscellanea Franciscana (M. F.)*, I, 185.

6. *M. F.*, IV, 34-36.

undivided. Ludwig von Pastor⁷ calls him "one of the greatest saints and preachers of his age." He is especially looked upon as the foremost itinerant missionary of the fifteenth century. Conditions in Italy were such that at perhaps no other time was Christian oratory more needed or more effective. The "free and fervent exercise of this office [of preaching] was one of the most cheering signs in an age clouded with many dark shadows," rightly concludes the papal annalist.⁸ Jacob Burckhardt in his famous book, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*,⁹ commenting on the effectiveness of these Renaissance preachers, says that they produced

a mighty impression which consisted chiefly in the awakening of the conscience. The sermons were moral exhortations, free from abstract notions and full of practical applications, rendered more impressive by the saintly and ascetic character of the preacher, and by the miracles which, even against his will, the inflamed imagination of the people attributed to him. The most powerful argument used was not the threats of hell and Purgatory, but rather the living results of the *maledizione*, the temporal ruin wrought on the individual by the curse which clings to the wrongdoer. The grieving of Christ and the saints has its consequence in this life. And only thus could men sunk in passion and guilt be brought to repentance and amendment — which was the chief object of the sermon.

Among such potent preachers of the *quattrocento* were first of all "Bernardino da Siena and his two pupils, Alberto da Sarteano and Jacopo della Marca [St. James of the Marshes], Giovanni Capistrano,¹⁰ Roberto da Lecce, and finally Girolomo Savonarola."¹¹

One of the means which St. Bernardine used to overcome the evils of his day, especially on the occasion of his sermons, was devotion to the Holy Name of Jesus,¹² "which he ever had on his lips."¹³ Because, however, of his novel way of venerating the Holy Name — by means of a banner and wooden tablet bearing the in-

7. Ludwig Pastor, *History of the Popes* (ed. Antrobus) (Herder, St. Louis, 1923), I, 232.

8. *Ibid.*, I, 33.

9. Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* (Boni Books, New York, 1935), pp. 450-451.

10. Cf. John Hofer, *St. John Capistran, Reformer* (trans. by Patrick Cummins, O. S. B.) (Herder, St. Louis, 1943).

11. Burckhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 453.

12. Cf. Jerome O'Callaghan, O. F. M., "St. Bernardine of Siena (1380-1444) and Devotion to the Holy Name of Jesus," *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, Sept. 1942, pp. 174-181. Peter R. Biasiotto, O. F. M., *History of the Development of the Devotion to the Holy Name* (St. Bonaventure, N. Y., 1943).

13. Roman Breviary, May 20.

scription "IHS"¹⁴ — he was accused of "idolatry to the golden Name of Jesus" before Pope Martin V, in 1427. Bernardine was called to Rome where a special commission was appointed to investigate, and pass judgment upon, his writings and sermons. This examination took place in St. Peter's Basilica, June 8, 1427, in the presence of the Pope. It must have been a source of deep humiliation to the saintly friar; but St. John Capistran defended his one-time master so admirably that not only was Bernardine acquitted, but, in order to exonerate the Saint and to show his sympathy with Bernardine's preaching and devotion, Martin V personally took part in a procession in the Eternal City in honor of the Holy Name.¹⁵ Perhaps the best vindication of Bernardine's devotion and his method of spreading it, was the permission granted to the Franciscans in 1530 to celebrate the "Feast of the Triumph of the Holy Name," which in 1722 was extended to the Church Universal.

In 1427 — the year in which Bernardine was accused of heresy at Rome — Martin V pressed upon him the bishopric of Siena. This Bernardine refused, playfully remarking that, because of his missionary apostolate, the whole of Italy was his diocese. (He also refused the diocese of Ferrara in 1431, and that of Urbino in 1437.) In 1431 accusations were again preferred against him, but Eugene IV, his life-long friend, nullified all manipulations against the Saint in virtue of his Brief *Sedis Apostolicae*, January 7, 1432.¹⁶ During nine months of the year 1432 Bernardine was the steady companion of King Sigismund (1410-1437), whom he accompanied to Rome for his imperial coronation.

In 1436 the Saint resumed his missionary activities, but he was obliged to relinquish them in 1438 when he was appointed by the Minister General of the Franciscan order, William of Casale (1430-1442), his Vicar over the Observant Family. Eugene IV approved this appointment by a special apostolic letter dated September 1, 1430.¹⁷

14. Cf. *A. F. H.*, XV, 260; XIV, 387; *Catholic Historical Review*, XV, 344-345.

15. Cf. *A. M.*, X, 113-114; *Analecta Francescana (A. F.)* (Quaracchi, 1887), pp. 278-279; Pastor, *op. cit.*, I, 232-234.

16. *A. M.*, X, 189; *Bullarium Franciscanum (B. F.) Nova Series (N. S.)*, I, 27 (No. 40).

17. *A. M.*, XI, 32; *B. F. (N. S.)*, I, 177 (No. 385); cf. FRANCISCAN STUDIES, XXV (N. S.) (1944) 121-133.

In 1440 Bernardine, afflicted with old age and sickness, sought to resign his difficult position, but the Pope refused to accept his resignation. On the contrary, Eugene IV commanded him to continue in his official capacity. To facilitate matters, however, he did give Bernardine permission to select a *socius* on whom he might confer such powers as he deemed useful to himself and expedient for the welfare of the Observants.¹⁸ The Saint made use of the privilege accorded him, selecting St. John Capistran as his assistant (1441). He made him Visitor and Commissary of the Observants in the Provinces of Genoa, Milan, and Bologna.¹⁹ The Pope himself appointed Santius de Canales Visitor and Custos of the Provinces of all the Reform Houses in Castile and Leon.²⁰

After five years of faithful service St. Bernardine, wearied of his difficult charge, requested the Pope anew to free him from his office.²¹ Eugene IV taking compassion on the aged and sickly man (he always was abstemious and emaciated), gave in to his wish. He was appointed (Titular) Guardian of Bethlehem and Provincial of the Holy Land, though it is doubtful that he ever went to Palestine — at most, he represented that Province at the General Chapter of Padua in 1443. Relieved of his duties, he again resumed in 1443 his missionary labors. Eugene IV (it is asserted) addressed a letter to him requesting him to preach the Crusade against the Turks.²² There is no historical evidence, however, that he ever put the decree in effect. In 1444 Bernardine set out for Naples, reaching Aquila in a dying state. He asked to be taken to the convent of the Conventuals, where he breathed his last on the eve of Ascension Day, May 20, 1444, at the age of 64, just as the friars were chanting the words of the Divine Office: "Pater, manifestavi nomen tuum hominibus." He was at first buried in the Church of the Conventuals at Aquila. Because of the large number of miracles wrought through his intercession,²³ he was canonized six years after his death by Pope Nicholas V, May 24, 1450, while the Jubilee Year was being cele-

18. *Multiis saepe numero*, March 10, 1440, in *A. M.*, XI, 100-101.

19. *A. M.*, XI, 137.

20. *Apostolicae Servitutis*, June 28, 1441, in *A. M.*, X, 415; *B. F. (N. S.)*, I, 258 (No. 524).

21. *A. M.*, XI, 156.

22. Cf. A. G. Ferrers Howell, *S. Bernardino of Siena* (Methuen, London, 1913), p. 199.

23. Cf. Pastor, *op. cit.*, II, 127, 129.

brated in the Eternal City and while the friars were holding their General Chapter in that city.²⁴ On May 17, 1472, Bernardine's body was solemnly transferred to the new church of the Observants at Aquila²⁵ and enclosed in a costly shrine, the gift of Louis XI of France. It is interesting for that reason to note that in 1799 the invading French soldiers rediscovered the Saint's remains, which had been transferred again to a new church to supplant the one destroyed by an earthquake in 1703.²⁶

Such, in brief, was the career of the great Franciscan friar, priest, preacher, reformer, and devotee of the Holy Name of Jesus. Some one has well said: "Only a stroke of fortune is needed to discover numberless latent good or bad qualities, which would otherwise have been eternally concealed."²⁷ In other words, opportunity makes the man. Theologically, we might define opportunity as the "gratia praeveniens." If through cooperation man accepts it, God seconds his effort through the further "gratia officii" concerning which, in reference to St. Joseph, the Foster-father of Christ, St. Bernardine of Siena himself once wrote these famous consoling words:

Omnium singularium gratiarum alicui rationabili creaturae communicatarum generalis regula est, quod, quandocumque divina gratia elegit aliquem ad aliquam gratiam singularem, seu ad aliquem sublimem statum omnia charismata donet, quae illi personae sic electae et eius officio necessaria sunt et quae copiose decorant.²⁸

How truly are these words applicable to Bernardine himself as well as to the work to which Almighty God in His divine goodness had called him. The times in which he lived were indeed extraordinary; extraordinary graces and an extraordinary man were needed to meet them. Bernardine was that man!

St. Bernardine of Siena lived in an age — the early Renaissance: 1380-1444 — when morally, ecclesiastically, civilly, socially, and politically, conditions were as bad as any historian would care to record

24. Cf. *B. F. (N. S.)*, I, No. 1364 (*Bulla Canonizationis*, cf. *ibid.*, No. 895, 1056, 1069, 1268, 1345).

25. *A. M.*, XIV, 6 *et seq.*; *M. F.*, V, 92-94.

26. *Catholic Encyclopedia*, II, 506 c; *Franciscan Herald and Forum*, XXIII (March 1, 1944), 66.

27. Sir Fulke Greville, *Encyclopedia of Quotations*, 6th ed. (McKay, Philadelphia, 1893), p. 305.

28. *Sermo de S. Joseph*, as recorded in the IV Lesson of the Second Nocturn of the Roman Breviary for the Feast of the Solemnity of St. Joseph.

them. A corrupt revival of paganism and heathenish morals contaminated the literary and social field of the late fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries. The Church was involved in a great schism which divided all Christianity into three different papal allegiances; while politically and civilly all Europe, Italy in particular, was torn apart by party strifes, discord, rebellions, bloodshed, and wars. Here was Bernardine's golden opportunity to reform, to unite, to pacify! And he did it so admirably that even his enemies were forced to congratulate him and share his glories.

If the old German axiom "Gleich und Gleich gesellt sich gern," which freely translated means "Birds of a feather flock together," is true, it is equally true that the arts — painting, photography, even fashions, if you will — love contrasts. Honest opponents will respect, even though they may not share, the convictions of their adversaries. More than once an orator has gained the applause of an incipiently hostile audience, while an adversary has been doubly revered when met face to face. Or, to vary the metaphor, even a good play of an opposing team is applauded by the spectators on their home grounds. An immoral Renaissance was induced to applaud Bernardine's sermons;²⁹ antagonistic or at least non-committal judges participated in his exaltation; and rabid opponents in social feuds were happy later to thank him or revere his memory for the fruits of peace and unity wrought through his intervention. It was like the South applauding the Gettysburg Address of Abraham Lincoln, or the North admiring the heroic stand of Stonewall Jackson.

I. ECCLESIASTICAL CONDITIONS

St. Bernardine was born and lived as a young man in a period of serious disorders in the Church and in the Papal States.³⁰ The Great Western Schism, which lasted well-nigh forty years (1378-1417), was the source of grave scandals, the cause of divided allegiance, and the occasion of a general relaxation of religious discipline which affected secular and religious clergy alike. It must have rent the heart of Bernardine — who loved peace and unity — to see the Church of Christ thus divided, at first between two contenders for

29. Cf. Burckhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 452. note 2; p. 454.

30. Cf. Pastor, *op. cit.*, I, 1-56; cf. L. Salembier, *The Great Schism of the West* (Kegan Paul, London, 1907).

the See of Peter, and after the Council of Pisa (1409) among three. Only the Council of Constance (1414-1417) was able to bring back unity into the Church, but unfortunately with unity there came neither concord nor that "reformatio in capite et in membris" which had been promised and planned. The "Conciliar Theory" of the superiority of the General Council over the Pope was still flagrantly taught at the University of Paris, as advocated by Pierre d'Ailly, John Gerson, Dietrich von Nieheim, Heinrich Heynbuch, etc. The unfortunate Council of Basle (1431) confirmed these viewpoints. St. Bernardine lived throughout this period of the Church's history. Although he continually stressed peace and unity, and upheld the primacy of the See of Peter, he did not live to see Pope Pius II (whom he had known as Cardinal Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, Bishop of Siena) condemn the Conciliar Theory in his famous Bull *Execrabilis* of January 18, 1460,³¹ or revoke the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, which during his own life had been enacted by Louis VIII and the French Parliament (May 1, 1438), and was based on the same false theory of the superiority of the Council over the Pope.

Bernardine did live, however, to see the Primacy of the Roman See strengthened by the convocation of the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1439) in which the Greeks and Oriental Schismatics approved of the action taken by their forefathers at the Second Council of Lyons (1274) — at which St. Bonaventure of Bagnoreggio had labored so strenuously — and signed the Decree of Union with the Latin Church. The Papal Bull of Eugene IV, *Laetentur coeli*, July 6, 1439,³² must have brought to him all that his namesake, St. Bernard of Clairvaux, once exultantly proclaimed of the Name of Jesus — equally dear to Bernardine — "honey to his lips, music to his ears, and joy to his heart;" for, after Pope Eugene IV and Cardinals Caesarini and Bassarion, no one had labored more for the union than he. As Vicar General of the Observants, Bernardine sent missionaries to different parts of the Orient to effect a reconciliation with the Latin Church. "It was largely through his efforts," writes Paschal Robinson, O. F. M., "that so many ambassadors from

31. Cf. Denziger, *Enchiridion*, No. 717 (Herder, St. Louis, 1932), p. 267.

32. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, XXXI, 1030 D, et seq.; Harduin, *Conciliorum Collectio Regia Maxima*, IX, 422 B, et seq.; Denziger, *op. cit.*, No. 691, p. 252.

so many schismatical nations attended the Council of Florence, in which we find the Saint addressing the assembled Fathers in Greek."³³

II. CIVIL DISCORDS

As in the Church, so also in the State discord prevailed. While Church unity was being rent as a result of the Western Schism, the political influence of the Papacy over the Papal States was minimized. The old warning, "duobus litigantibus, tertius gaudet," applied here. The great Spanish Cardinal, Aegidio (Giles) Alborno (ca. 1300-1367), had indeed restored peace and the prestige of the See of Peter during the pontificate of Innocent VI (1352-1362), while the Pope was residing at Avignon; but with the fatal election of Urban VI in 1378, occasioning the schism, party strifes and rebellions were once more rampant throughout the Papal States.³⁴

The Roman Breviary for the feast of St. Bernardine of Siena, May 20, describes appropriately the conditions in Italy during his days in these significant words: "Cumque ea tempora vitiis criminibusque redundarent, et cruentis factionibus in Italia, divina humanaque permixta erant, Bernardinus, etc." One need hardly wonder at these conditions, if one recalls that in addition to the discord in the Papacy and the continuation of the theoretical discussions of the Conciliar Theory, there was a campaign of slander directed against the Church by such insidious writers as Lorenzo Valla (ca. 1407-1457), etc. "The virulence of Valla's denunciations against the 'overbearing, barbarous, tyrannical Priestly domination' " writes Pastor, "has scarcely been surpassed in later times."³⁵ The following is an example of Valla's diatribes:

The Popes were always filching away the liberties of the people, and therefore when opportunity offers the people rise. If at times they willingly consent to the Papal rule, which may happen when a danger threatens from some other side, it must not be understood that they have agreed to continue [as] slaves, never again to free their necks from the yoke, and that their

33. *Catholic Encyclopedia*, II, 506 b; cf. Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, VII, Council of Florence.

34. For a description of the petty tyrants who ravaged Italy during the fifteenth century, cf. Burckhardt, *op. cit.*, ch. III, p. 34; Alfred Cardinal Baudrillart, *The Catholic Church, The Renaissance, and Protestantism* (London, 1908), Engl. transl. by Mrs. P. Gibbs, of the original which appeared in Paris, 1904.

35. Pastor, *op. cit.*, I, 19.

posterity has no right of settling their own affairs. That would be in the highest degree unjust. We came of our free will to you, O Pope, and asked you to govern us; of our own free will we go away from you again, that you may no longer govern us. If we owe you anything, then make out the debit and credit account. . . . Have you enervated our State? You have. Have you plundered our churches? You have. Have you outraged matrons and virgins? You have. Have you shed blood of citizens in our towns? You have.³⁶

The accusations that Valla here makes against the Pope naturally also refer to all those who in the Church were associated with him at the time — to the cardinals, to the bishops, priests, religious, and friars. That Valla, blinded by his hatred of the Church, made false accusations, did not enter directly into the case any more than shortly before his time the harangues of a Colo de Rienzo from the Capitoline Hill succeeded in bringing prosperity to the Roman people. But what did matter to Bernardine was that the Church and her sacred ministers were being maligned by one who wrote with a pen dipped in poison. How did Bernardine and the other great itinerant preachers of the *quattrocento* meet the challenge?

On foot the Saint traversed the length and breadth of Italy preaching peace. Time and time again he effected a reconciliation between the Guelphs and the Ghibellines. At Crema, for example, political exiles were recalled and even reinstated in their confiscated possessions. Pope Pius II, as a youth, listened spellbound to the preaching of Bernardine, and resolved to change his way of life which was rather worldly at the time; for a while he even thought of embracing the religious life as a Friar Minor.³⁷ Bernardine may not have been able to reestablish full allegiance in the Papal States — it needed a Cesare Borgia and especially a Giulio della Rovere (Julius II) to resurrect the work accomplished by Albornoz — but he did offset the anarchical tirades of Lorenzo Valla and taught people once more to live in peace and religion under duly authorized and legitimate papal government.

III. RENAISSANCE MORALS

Bernardine was probably best as a reformer of morals among the common people. Like a flock without a shepherd — Pope Eugene

36. As quoted by Pastor in *History of the Popes*, I, 19.

37. Cf. Sbaralea, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

IV had been obliged to live for ten years away from his See of Rome — the ordinary faithful were unfortunately imbibing the false pagan doctrines and evil morals of the early Renaissance.³⁸ Constantinople had not yet fallen (1453); nevertheless, the influence of the Ghibelline Dante, the discontented Petrarch, the voluptuous Boccaccio, the anarchistic Valla, and the immoral Poggio Bracciolino, had left its impression. The heathenish book of the lewd Valla, entitled *Pleasure*,³⁹ published in 1431, is indicative of the times. The "gospel of pleasure" demands the gratification of every sense, says Beccadelli, the mouthpiece of Valla's infamous trilogy⁴⁰ as the exponent of Epicurean philosophy. It completely ignores the barriers of chastity and honor, and would have them abolished, where they still exist, as an injustice. None of the senses is to be denied its appropriate satisfaction. The individual, says Valla blatantly, may indulge all his appetites. Adultery is the natural order. Indeed, says Valla, more carnally inclined than even Mohammed, all women ought to be held in common; hence, says he, Plato's community of women is in accordance with nature. Adultery and unchastity are to be eschewed only when danger attends them; otherwise, sensual pleasure is good, he declares. "Pleasure, pleasure, and nothing but pleasure," exclaims Pastor. "Sensual pleasure is, in Valla's eyes, the highest good, and therefore he esteems those nations of heathen antiquity happy, who raised voluptuousness to the rank of worship. Vice becomes virtue, and virtue vice."⁴¹ It was against such a nefarious reincarnation of pagan immorality expressed by the neo-pagans of the early Renaissance, that Bernardine had to take his stand in the defense of the matrimonial bond, the sacredness of marriage, and the purity of mankind. Against the doctrine of the gratification of the senses as the ultimate good of humanity Bernardine, mortified and emaciated, preached penance as the only source of salvation, and virtue as the only source of interior happiness. On June 21, 1424, writes the Secretary of the Senate, Infessura, following a sermon

38. Pastor, *op. cit.*, I, 231.

39. L. Vallae, *De voluptate ac vero bono libri tres* (Basle, 1519).

40. In Valla's "Trilogy" (which would resemble a three-paneled discussion over the radio or in a public forum today), Leonardo Bruni represents the teachings of the Stoics; Antonio Beccadelli, that of the Epicureans; and Niccolo Nicoli, the cause of the true good. Needless to say, Beccadelli carries off the victory for Valla. Cf. Pastor, *op. cit.*, I, 14.

41. *Loc. cit.*, p. 16.

preached by the Saint in the city of Rome itself, "a great funeral pile of playing-cards, lottery tickets, musical instruments, false hair, and other feminine adornments, was erected on the Capitol, and all these things were burned."⁴² After his sermons Bernardine was accustomed to hear confessions by the hour, much like that other great preacher of the thirteenth century, his confrere, St. Anthony of Padua. When a certain artist at Bologna complained that Bernardine through his sermons was destroying his livelihood, the Saint advised him to make wooden tablets with the first letters of the Greek word for Jesus — the well known IHS — surrounded by rays, and to sell them instead of the usual objects of vanity he had been making. The artist followed Bernardine's advice and soon reaped a little fortune.

But the neo-pagan philosophers of the Renaissance not only attacked the morals of the people. They sought to strike even deeper. In his dialogue on Religious Vows,⁴³ Valla not only denounced, as his Humanist predecessors had done, the externals of monastic and religious life, but even the very theology of religious vows, the evangelical counsels, by asserting that not only were those who took them through religious profession not better qualified (through grace) to lead a good life and aspire thereby more easily to perfection, but the vows induced the monk and the nun, the cleric and the priest, to lead a more demoralizing life, and thus prepared all of them the more easily for eternal damnation. It was against this dastardly doctrine, so diametrically opposed to the traditional teachings of the theologians of the Church, that Bernardine directed one of his most beautiful sermons on the excellence of the religious and the clerical states.⁴⁴ Not less voluptuous in character were the epigrams of Antonio Beccadelli of Palermo (d. 1471) who, in his *Hermaphroditus*, openly glorified in verse the most horrible and atrocious crimes of antiquity — crimes at the very name of which every truly Christian soul blushes with shame. In facile verse the

42. Pastor, *op. cit.*, I, 232-233.

43. *De Professione Religiosorum*, publ. by J. Vallen in Valla's *Opuscula Tria* (Vienna, 1869), *Opusculum* LXII, 99-135.

44. *Sermo fratris Bernardini de Senis de sacra religione, et quod melius est bonum facere ex voto quam ex libera voluntate*. Codex A. D. XIII, 41, n. 7, preserved in the Library of Brera at Milan. How closely allied to Leo XIII's *Testem Benevolentiae!* Cf. Catholic Encyclopedia, XIV, 537.

Humanist poet discussed the worst forms of sensuality as though they were the most familiar and natural themes for wit and merriment. Cosimo de' Medici accepted the dedication of this loathsome book, which (to judge from the countless copies found in Italian libraries) must have been in wide circulation. Beccadelli's *Emancipation of the Flesh* prepared the way for the wild orgies which accompanied the French Revolution, especially the cult of Reason and Vice, for example in Notre Dame Cathedral, Paris. And who can fully evaluate the effect the book must have had on the age of the Medici and the Borgias toward the end of the fifteenth century?

Pope Eugene IV forbade the reading of Beccadelli's work under pain of excommunication; Cardinal Caesarini, the friend and legate of Nicholas V and Eugene IV, although himself a great Humanist, destroyed it wherever he could get possession of it. But it was especially the Franciscan itinerant preachers of the fifteenth century who seconded the efforts of the Pope and of his legate to offset the effects of its nefarious influence on the hearts and minds of the Italian people.⁴⁵ It was through the influence of St. Bernardine and of his contemporary, Robert of Lecce (d. 1413),⁴⁶ that Beccadelli's verses were publicly burned in the city squares of Milan and Bologna. The Franciscan Antonio da Rho wrote a long indictment of Beccadelli,⁴⁷ and Alberto da Sarteano directed a letter to the young men of Ferrara advising them to be on guard against the works of Beccadelli. To offset his influence Alberto wrote a larger work of gratifying verse of a Christian character. Commenting on the effectiveness of these Renaissance preachers of the Order of Friars Minor, Bernardine of Siena, St. James of the Marches, Albert of Sarteano, St. John Capistran, Robert of Lecce, as well as the Dominican Girolomo Savanarola, Jacob Burckhardt says that they produced such a mighty effect that it manifested itself in an awakening of the conscience remarkable for an age so addicted to sin and pleasure.⁴⁸ Even those who were not converted, perforce had to respect these great preachers. "Men kept on laughing at the ordinary monkish sermons — but did not cease to honor the great and genuine

45. Cf. Pastor, *op. cit.*, I, 24.

46. Pastor, *op. cit.*, I, 33, n. 3; II, 83, n. 2.

47. Rho's MS, according to Pastor, is preserved in the Ambrosian Library at Milan.

48. Burckhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 450-453.

prophets. These are a true Italian specialty of the fifteenth century," concludes Burckhardt.⁴⁹ But more than that:

There came the turn of the more hardened consciences. Men who had long never been near the confessional now acknowledged their sins. Ill-gotten gains were restored, and insults which might have borne fruit in blood, retracted. Orators like Bernardino da Siena entered diligently into all the details of the daily life of men and the moral laws which are involved in it. Few theologians would feel tempted to give a morning sermon on contracts, restitutions, the public debt (*monte*), and the proportioning of daughters, like that which he once delivered in the cathedral of Florence.⁵⁰

In the words of the same Burckhardt, "no prejudice of the day was stronger than that against the mendicant friar, and this they overcame. They were criticized and ridiculed by a scornful humanism, but when they raised their voice no one gave heed to the humanists."⁵¹ And that other great historian of the age of Humanism, Ludwig von Pastor, looked upon the "free and fervent exercise of this office [of preaching on the part of the friars] as one of the most cheering signs in an age clouded with many dark shadows."⁵²

St. Bernardine inveighed against another evil of his day, usury. He wrote whole tracts against this crime that stripped the poor of their goods and robbed them of their homes and fields. The Fuggers and the Italian brokers were reaping a harvest in his days at the expense of the needy. To offset this evil, and at the same time to alleviate temporarily at least the pressing needs and emergencies, he advocated everywhere the beneficial loan societies known as the *Montes Pietatis* (*Monte di Pietà*) where money could be obtained at a very low rate of interest with nothing more than a pawn of some kind to serve as security.⁵³

The conversions effected by Bernardine's sermons in his fight against the poisoned pens of the Humanists were not only individual; they veritably seemed to come *en masse*, like the result of another outpouring of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost. "No age, perhaps," says Pastor, "offers such striking scenes in the con-

49. *Ibid.*, p. 452-453.

50. *Ibid.*, pp. 454, 452.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 452.

52. Pastor, *op. cit.*, I, 33.

53. Cf. *Franciscan Educational Conference Report*, IX, 318; VIII, 272; XII, 152-3; Pastor, *op. cit.*, I, 33; Dr. Nikolaus Paulus-J. Elliot Ross, *Indulgences as a Social Factor in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1922), p. 119 ("Montes Pietatis").

version of all classes of people, of whole towns and provinces, as does that whose wounds were so fiercely laid open by Saints Vincent Ferrer, Bernardine of Siena, John Capistran, and Savonarola."⁵⁴

To meet the challenge of the Humanists, Bernardine, like Albert of Sarteano, did not disdain to study the secular art of oratory, in order that through his tongue he could defeat the venomous products of their pens.⁵⁵ They studied the pagans, he would study the Fathers; they would become other Horaces and Virgils, he would become another Augustine or Chrysostom; they would revive the mythological stories of the gods of Greece, he would revive the Gospel truths of the God-Man. In one of his sermons, left us in manuscript, Bernardine testifies that he had once so indulged in the reading of the poetic books that the Sacred Scriptures nauseated him, but after he had once read the letters of St. Jerome he laid aside the reading of the heathen poets and devoted himself entirely to the reading of the Scriptures.⁵⁶ Even such homiletic accessories as a pleasing voice (one that Bernardine had to acquire, because by nature his was high-pitched and unsuited for the loud preaching which the Renaissance preacher was forced to adopt under the open sky), correct pronunciation, and a dignified posture were all cultivated by him. A certain Humanist writing in the year 1453, as recorded by the Bollandists, says of Bernardine in deep admiration, "quod in pronuntiacionis gratia adeo larga naturae manu donatus fuerit, ut nihil dignius, nihil praestantius dici possit."⁵⁷ Writing about the year 1427, Aeneas Sylvius (Pius II) says of the Saint's preaching: "All Rome flocked to his discourses. He frequently had Cardinals, and sometimes even the Pope himself [Eugene IV], amongst his audience, and all with one voice bore witness to his marvelous power and success."⁵⁸ His oratory won for him the titles of "Trumpet of Heaven" and "Fountain of Knowledge."⁵⁹

54. Pastor, *op. cit.*, I, 34.

55. *Ibid.*, I, 33.

56. Sbaraglea, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

57. *Acta Sanctorum*, May 20; cf. Sbaraglea, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

58. Cf. J. P. Toussaint, *Leben des hl. Bernardin von Siena, quellenmässig dargestellt* (Regensburg, 1873), p. 100; Pastor, I, 234.

59. Pastor, I, 36. Bernardine did not disdain to use even wit and humor, if they tended to achieve his point. While preaching at Perugia in the beginning of his missionary career, it seems he did not always attract the crowds he had anticipated. To obtain better congregations he announced one day that he would shortly show his audience the devil. His innocent strategy was successful. His hearers gathered in

This, then, in brief is the life and the historical setting of the Saint of Siena whose five hundredth anniversary we are celebrating this year. The times were indeed extraordinary, from whatever angle one considers them. In his own community a great reform movement was in progress; he became its very soul and inspiration. In the Church of God a great schism was in progress, and while it ended at the Council of Constance its effects were to run on for centuries and to find expression as late as 1682 at the Congregation of the French Clergy headed by the learned Bossuet, and to be definitely settled only at the Council of the Vatican in 1870. Against the schism and attacks on the primacy, Bernardine preached unity and respect. In the literary world religion was mocked, morals scoffed at, and virtue scorned. Against this, Bernardine preached purity, charity, and penance. He was called by God to guide the various currents in his order wisely and sweetly, neither breaking the bruised reed nor extinguishing the smoldering flax; to oppose discords, strifes, factions by his persuasive sermons on peace, unity, and concord; and finally to nullify the effects of a paganistic humanism and renaissance of immorality through the spread of God's Gospel in the preaching apostolate and the writings of his productive pen.

"May this holy preacher of truth and charity return to his own!"⁶⁰

RAPHAEL M. HUBER, O. F. M. CONV.

*St. Bonaventure's Convent,
Washington, D. C.*

thongs. When they reminded him of his promise, he bade them look at one another, for, he intimated, they were all devils, since they did the devil's works; were full of hatred for one another, at variance with each other, and set at nought God's commandments. Cf. Ferrers-Howell, *op. cit.*, p. 141-142.

Furthermore he preached in the language of the people — in their own dialect, and like the Savior made use of metaphors, pictures, and examples that the common people easily understood. These sermons are known as his *Prediche volgari*. Cf. FRANCISCAN STUDIES, IV (N. S.) (1944), 7-33.

60. Apostolic Letter on the Fifth Centenary of the Death of St. Bernardine of Siena, Mar. 25, 1943. *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, Ser. II, Vol. X, No. 5, pp. 129-131. English translation in FRANCISCAN STUDIES, IV (N. S.) (1944), 3-6.

NICHOLAS OF LYRA AND MICHELANGELO'S ANCESTORS OF CHRIST

THE Sistine Chapel had to be restored in 1504, since "ipsa cappella ruinosa erat et tota conquassata," according to the testimony of the Papal Master of Ceremonies, Paris de Grassis. It is almost certain that the plans of the reigning pope, Julius II, envisaged at that time a richer decoration of the Chapel.

In 1508 Michelangelo was ordered to execute this work. The first plan was relatively simple. Only the figures of the twelve Apostles were to occupy the Chapel's nave. The ceiling was to be decorated in a purely ornamental and geometric manner, by a system of circles and squares. Michelangelo was not satisfied with this program, and submitted proposals of his own to the pope. The traditional story has it that Julius closed the discussion with the magnanimous and happy words: "Do as you want yourself."

Michelangelo was not absolutely free in his decisions. The general program of the prospective decoration was determined by the special character of the Chapel¹ and the decoration already executed by former masters, and by the ideas developed in the discussions between himself and the pope. It is obvious, however, that he was not bound to a detailed program outlined by some theologian of the Papal Court, as Raphael probably was when he painted the frescoes of the Stanza della Segnatura. He was free to follow his own temperament, and to condense the sacred stories into dramatic form, suppressing all details in favor of spiritual and religious concentration. For this Michelangelo was especially fitted. He was of a deeply religious nature and an eager student of the Holy Scriptures. Condivi relates that "he read with deep study and attention the Holy Scriptures, both the Old and New Testaments, as well as those who have expounded them."

The master idea of the artist was the delineation of the religious history of the world, from the creation to the appearance of the

1. The Sistine Chapel was consecrated on the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin, August 15, 1483; it was dedicated in honor of the Virgin (Paris de Grassis, *Codex Corsinianus*, p. 164). Perugino painted the Assumption of the Virgin on its front wall. This fresco was destroyed when Clement VII decided to replace it by a representation of the Last Judgment. A drawing by Pinturicchio (Albertina, Vienna) preserves the composition.

Savior, as focused in the representation of the relations between God and man. The central compositions, showing the Creation of the World, the Creation and the Fall of Man, and the History of Noe (each of the three subjects covered in three paintings), demonstrate the fundamental relations between the Almighty, chastising and mercifully forgiving, and the erring creature. These stories find their continuation in the representations of the ancestors of the Lord and His spiritual predecessors among the Jews and the Gentiles, the prophets and sibyls: both are here connected in a way similar to that of the old schemes of the Tree of Jesse. Originally the story of the ancestors of Christ began with Abraham and led to St. Joseph, according to the genealogy of St. Matthew. Abraham and his seed were represented by their names and illustrated by groups of figures in the lunettes and triangles of the painted framework. When Michelangelo painted his Last Judgment, the first two lunettes with the names and figures illustrating the story from Abraham to Aram were destroyed.² In the four corners of the ceiling the stories of the Serpent of Brass, of Aman, David and Goliath, and of Judith are depicted, showing once more God's mercy toward the sinful people.

Michelangelo's representations of the ancestors of the Lord differ widely from all other representations of the same subject. Perhaps only the figure of David, the King, might be accepted as an ideal portrait. In but a very few cases is a story hinted at, from which the identity of the actors can be deduced. In most cases even the number and the sex of the painted figures do not agree with the pertinent names. We see men resting in different attitudes, with hardly any action. Everywhere there are mothers with children — here they suckle them, there they press them to the breast or play with them. If this series of paintings had not been known at Michelangelo's time to represent the ancestors of the Lord — as

2. They are preserved in a drawing (Windsor Castle) and in four engravings by Adam Ghisi (Adam Sculptor de Mantoue) in his series of engravings after Michelangelo (1566-1577, Pass. No. 27-98). Besides that, two engravings ordered by William Young Ottley, based upon a drawing then owned by Samuel Rogers, Esq. (Robinson, *A Critical Account*, p. 45 and p. 327) show the compositions. The Windsor Castle drawing and the Ottley engravings are reproduced in Steinmann, *Die Sixtinische Kapelle*, (Munich, 1901-1905).

witnessed by all the old authors since Condivi, and even by reported utterances of Michelangelo himself — and if there were no illuminating inscriptions, we should hardly think of all these nameless persons as ancestors of the Savior.

No wonder that the interpretation of these scenes became a problem of iconology and a disputed chapter in the history of art. The single figures have often been explained as representatives of the Jewish people, forming family groups in the lunettes, and groups of nomadic pilgrims in the triangles. Jacob Burckhardt feels that they "exist only in reference to their divine Descendant." They show, according to him, the common expression of "quiet awaiting."³ Wölfflin interprets them as representations of the "quiet enduring being, common human existence."⁴ Quietness is undoubtedly characteristic of all these pictures. They reveal a severe and even gloomy atmosphere, demonstrating mankind's state before the Savior's coming. But it is certainly a mistake to detect in the features of these people "hopeless lamentation," as did Steinmann. He was completely misguided in his interpretation of them as "prisoners of Zion" whose homes were swallowed up, and whose strongholds had been thrown down;⁵ or to see "restlessness," as does Justi, who describes them as pilgrims, aliens, and mere guests in the country belonging to their God but not to themselves.⁶ All things considered, the judgment of Klaczko⁷ is preferable: "On cherche en vain l'idée générale qui a preside à la composition d'episodes aussi hétéroclites."

Only in recent years has there been an attempt to explain the figural compositions by the known names of the Lord's ancestors.⁸ But it proved impossible to reconcile the meaning of all these names with the single figures in the corresponding compositions. Besides, the translation of St. Jerome was used as a basis, and this did not include all the names mentioned in the inscriptions.

3. Jacob Burckhardt, *Der Cicerone* (Alfred Kröner, Leipzig, 1925), p. 828.

4. H. Wölfflin, *Die Klassische Kunst* (Munich, 1924), p. 72.

5. Steinmann, *Die Sixtinische Kapelle* (Munich, 1901-1905), pp. 429 *et seq.* His imagery is based on Lamentations 2:2.

6. Justi, *Michelangelo* (Berlin, 1909), p. 166.

7. Klaczko, *Jules II* (Paris, 1902), p. 166.

8. Lectures of Prof. Dr. Edgar Wind, New York, 1941.

It is clearly impossible to conceive these figures as historical personalities, for obviously Michelangelo did not mean to depict distinct personalities in his shadowy visions. His aim was to express a general characterization of all these very different people — great and small, strong and weak, virtuous and sinful, obeying God and quarreling with Him. From them the Savior arose. The artist's aim was to show that something lived in these people which made them worthy of salvation, in spite of their sins. His aim was to illustrate the preexistence of the Savior in His ancestors.

It is demonstrable that the method he used in order to express this idea was suggested to him by the Franciscan Nicholas of Lyra, one of the greatest of medieval commentators of Holy Scripture (d. 1340). Michelangelo certainly knew the "Doctor Planus et Utilis," whose famous *Postillae Perpetuae in Universam S. Scripturam* had been the authoritative biblical commentary for centuries. Since its first printing at Rome by C. Sweyerheim and A. Pannartz in 1471-1472, numerous other editions were published in Michelangelo's lifetime by the leading printers of Rome, Strasbourg, Venice, Basle, Nuremberg, Paris, Mantova, and other places. This commentary could be found in almost every parish. It was likewise — and this is important — in the Vatican, the residence then of a Franciscan Pope, Julius II.

In his commentary on St. Matthew's Gospel, Nicholas of Lyra translates all the names of the ancestors of Christ and interprets them, in every case, with reference to Christ. David is translated "manu fortis," and is interpreted "Christus qui superavit diabolum in Goliath;" Solomon means "pacificus," or "Christus qui ipse est pax nostra;" Roboam means "impetus populi," or "Christus qui velociter populos convertit ad fidem," and so on.

Apart from these interpretations through words from the Scriptures, the translations of Nicholas of Lyra deviate in part from those of St. Jerome. This is especially the case with the first three names, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. In St. Jerome's translation, Abraham means "pater excelsi," or "pater filii;" Isaac "risus et letitia," or "auditus;" Jacob "supplantator laboris." Nicholas of Lyra translates Abraham as "Faith," Isaac as "Hope," and Jacob as "Charity." Faith, Hope, and Charity, the Christian theological vir-

tues, live in mankind from the beginning. This fact indicates the possibility and certainty of salvation, and makes the appearance of the Savior a foregone conclusion. As Faith, Hope, and Charity, the Lord is, as it were, preexistent in His ancestors.

It is thus that He is shown in the frescoes of Michelangelo in the Sistine Chapel. The whole cycle of the ancestors of the Lord, depicted in the lunettes and triangles of the Chapel's ceiling, represents a lofty variation upon the eternal theme of Faith, Hope, and Charity. All of these men, doing nothing or almost nothing, are in a state of awaiting something they believe in, in the state of awaiting the salvation they hope for. Such is the man with the walking staff in the Phares lunette, which includes the generation of Jews wandering with Moses through the desert seeking the promised land, or Zorobabel, the "magister Babylonis, i. e., confusionis," interpreted as "ille continuit qui mundum ab errore idolatriae ad viam veritatis vocavit." Faith and Hope make them hold their own.⁹ In Michelangelo's paintings, they are almost overshadowed by the groups of the mothers with their children, by these artistically stupendous variations of the old symbol of Charity. Within the overwhelming symphony of forms created by Michelangelo on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, the series of frescoes of the ancestors seems to repeat in endless variations, in the majestic language of the greatest master of form, the immortal words of St. Paul: "So there abide faith, hope, and charity, these three; but the greatest of these is charity" (I Cor. 13:13):

In 1536 the old master was called to paint on the front wall of the Chapel the Judgment Day, to replace the old fresco of Perugino, the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin. The temper of the times had changed, notably with the fall of Rome on May 6, 1527. The more rigorous epoch of the counter-reformation was approaching. The Chapel was decorated in accord with the new spirit. Formerly the chief emphasis was laid upon the idea of salvation. Now, the idea of the punishment of sinners came to the fore. Thus, when Michelangelo himself destroyed the first two lunette frescoes, a deed

9. Adam Ghisi, in his engravings after Michelangelo, tries to interpret the figure of the sitting man in the Mathan lunette by letting him point with his finger to Heaven, in the characteristic attitude of Hope.

which would be incomprehensible otherwise, he did not destroy the unity of his earlier work. He merely altered it, changing its total meaning, in order to integrate it into a new unity which included his terrifying vision of the Last Judgment as well.

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THE WORKS OF ST. BERNARDINE

THE fifth centenary of the passing of St. Bernardine of Siena (1380-1444) has aroused a new and lively interest among the North-American sons of St. Francis in the writings of this great Franciscan saint and preacher. That this interest may be kept alive and may lead to a more abundant use of the writings of St. Bernardine in the future, we venture to present this brief study of the works of St. Bernardine. It is not intended to be an exhaustive treatise, though the writer has examined the *Opera Omnia* of St. Bernardine, edited by De la Haye and published at Paris in 1635 (a set belonging to the library of St. Anthony Friary, St. Louis, Mo.), as well as the edition of these works by Pietro Ridolfi (Rodulphius) published at Venice in 1591 (a set belonging to Holy Name College Library, Washington, D. C.), and numerous other books and articles on St. Bernardine. However, we hope that these notes — they are no more than that — will be of some help to those who intend to read and use the sermons and treatises of St. Bernardine, who has rightly been called "the people's preacher."

After he had spent some seventeen years preaching his famous sermon courses in various cities and provinces of Italy (Assisi, Bergamo, Brescia, Ferrara, Florence, Lombardy, Mantua, Modena, Perugia, Prato, Reggio, Romagna, Rome, Siena, Umbria, Venice, Verona, Vicenza, Viterbo), St. Bernardine retired to the little friary of the Observance at Capriola (which he himself had founded about a year after his ordination to the holy priesthood in 1404), and spent the three years or more from 1433 to 1436 in writing his Latin sermons. Subsequently, even as late as 1442, he went back several times to Capriola to revise what he had written and to write additional sermons.

Twice his doctrine had been impugned (1427 and 1431); and although he had twice received the approbation of the Holy See, he wished to present a detailed written record of his preaching and thus render it proof against future calumny. It was his purpose also to offer to other preachers more solid material than was contained in the manuals which were then in vogue. The result, therefore, was not so much a series of sermons as they were preached or should be



FRONTISPIECE OF THE *Sermones Sancti Bernhardini*. . .
De festivitibus virginis gloriose, PRINTED AT
NÜRNBERG IN 1493

preached, but rather a rich collection of sermon material and a vast treatise of dogmatic and moral theology.

At the end of his *Quadragesimale de Christiana Religione* (the end of volume one in Ridolfi's edition of 1591), St. Bernardine wrote:

Longius evasit hoc opus quam volebam, quamque putabam: sed legentibus atque praedicantibus, quibus non erit ingratum, minime erit longum. Quibus vero longiores viderentur esse sermones, assumant eorum quascunque in praedicatione magis placuerint partes, cum quilibet articulus cujuscunque sermonis communiter ad legendum et praedicandum formatam et ordinatam materiam praestet.¹

After the death of St. Bernardine, manuscript copies of his Latin sermons were spread with astounding rapidity throughout Italy, France, Spain, Germany, and even the Far East. Preachers everywhere sought inspiration in these sermons, studied them, and made use of them. St. Bernardine's collection of sermons was acknowledged to be the best work of its kind then in existence. Fr. Roberto da Lecce, famous Franciscan preacher of the second half of the fifteenth century, admits that he and his colleagues made frequent use of the sermons of St. Bernardine and prided themselves in emulating his style and method; many a time they merely repeated word for word what he had written, and did so with great success.²

As printing presses were set up in various countries of Europe during the latter part of the fifteenth century, some of the sermons of St. Bernardine were made available in printed form. His sermons on the Blessed Virgin, for instance, were printed at Nürnberg in

1. "This work has turned out to be longer than I wished, longer than I thought it would be; but to readers and preachers who will be pleased with it, this work will not be long at all. Those, however, to whom the sermons appear to be too long, may take from them whatever parts they like best for preaching, since every article of every sermon offers material which has been digested and arranged for reading and preaching."

2. Several fifteenth-century manuscripts of some of St. Bernardine's sermons are in Holy Name Library, Washington, D. C. (cf. "Franciscana" in the present issue of FRANCISCAN STUDIES). A specimen of the beautiful handwriting of St. Bernardine will be found in the new and revised edition of Baroness G. von Hügel's English translation of Paul Thureau-Dangin's French life of St. Bernardine: *The Life of San Bernardino of Siena* (Philip Lee Warner, London, 1911), facing p. 256. This is a photograph of a letter written by St. Bernardine in 1439, and preserved in the Biblioteca Comunale of Siena. Another specimen, a page of the sermons written by St. Bernardine with corrections and alterations by himself, the original of which is in the Vatican Library, is given in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, II (Herder, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1931), 213-214.

1493. The writer examined a copy of this interesting little book belonging to the library of St. Anthony Friary, St. Louis, Mo.³ Its title is: *Sermones Sancti Bernhardini Ordinis Minorum. De festivitibus virginis gloriose per annu cu singularissimis laudibus eiusde.* There follows a frontispiece, a reproduction of which accompanies this article; then a preface, at the end of which the name of the printer and date and place of publication are given: "Impressum Nurmberge cura et impensis providi viri Friderici kreusner. Anno domini milesimo qdringetesimo nonagesimo tercio." This is followed by a "Table of Contents" and eleven sermons of St. Bernardine. The beginnings of paragraphs are illuminated in several colors by hand; and a red line is added to capital letters throughout, likewise by hand. We shall have more to say of this book later. The "complete works" of St. Bernardine were collected and printed for the first time at Venice in 1591.⁴

THE DE LA HAYE EDITION

The Franciscan Fr. Jean de la Haye prepared and edited an elaborate edition of the *Opera Omnia* of St. Bernardine in five volumes with lengthy indices, and this was published in two tomes at Paris in 1635, and reprinted in 1650 at Lyons and again in 1745 at Venice.⁵

The frontispiece of the present number of FRANCISCAN STUDIES reproduces in reduced size the first page of the 1635 printing.

The inscriptions on the medallions illustrating the life of St. Bernardine, beginning at the upper left hand corner, are as follows:

Quae potuit puer exhibuit mellitus egenis
Bernardinus adest, aiunt obscena loquentes
Virginis ardenti zelo colit usque figuram
Pestes laborantes iuvenes [juvenes] non horuit atra
Admonitus Francisce tuum decernit amictum

3. Another copy of this book, as well as other incunabula printings of some of St. Bernardine's sermons, are in Holy Name College Library, Washington, D. C. (cf. "Franciscana" in the present issue of FRANCISCAN STUDIES).

4. This is the Ridolfi edition which we shall discuss after that of De la Haye. The *Catholic Encyclopedia*, II, 507, contains some serious typographical errors when it declares that the first collection of Bernardine's writings was published at Lyons in 1501, instead of Venice in 1591, and that the first printing of De la Haye's edition appeared in 1536 instead of 1635.

5. The library of St. Anthony Friary, St. Louis, Mo., has a copy of both the 1635 and the 1745 printings of the De la Haye edition.

OPERA OMNIA SANCTI
BERNARDINI
SENENSIS ORDINIS SERAPHICI
MINORVM SYNOPSIS ORNATA
POSTILLIS ILLVSTRATA, NECNON
Variis tractatibus locupletata

Labore R. P. Joannis De la Haye Parisini,
eiusdem ordinis, concionatoris Regii, terrae Sanctae
comissarii generalis et prou. ae Franciae Paris.
visitatoris generalis et apostolici.

PARISIIS,
Sumptibus Dionysii Moreau,
Via Iacobaea, sub signo
Salamandrae
M.DC.XXXV

DATA ON THE TITLE PAGE OF THE DE LA HAYE EDITION, 1635

Ordinis oratio parens se uestibus ornat
Taxillos vrit chartas et inania quaeque [lower center]
A Duce porrecto captiuos liberat ere [bottom right hand corner]
Demonium offenso profligat nomine IESV
Consobrinae animam vidit contendere ad astra
Vincitur gratis vincit que ob nomen IESV
Ornatur sacra, laudata Virgine stella
Mortuus egrotos Aquile beat ipse salute
Santorii gregie a Nicolao Scribr. idem [top center]
CVIQUE TVVM FECI MANIFESTVM NOMEN IESV [center]

The two bound tomes of the 1635 printing are 13¾ inches high and 9 inches wide; the first tome contains volumes I and II, and the second, volumes III, IV, and V. It may be well to give the contents of the first tome just as they appear:

(1) A second title page alters the wording a little: *Sancti Bernardini Senensis Ordinis Seraphici Minorum Opera Omnia Synopsis Ornata . . . Opera et labore R. P. Joannis de la Haye. . .*

(2) "Epistola Dedicatoria," addressed to Franciscus Cardinal Barbarino.

(3) "Benevolo Lectori," a preface.

(4) Approbations.

(5) "Vita Sti. Bernardini Senensis Ordinis Seraphici Minorum," 69 short chapters, probably by De la Haye himself, pp. iii-xxvi.

(6) "Vita . . . per Beatum Joannem a Capistrano conscripta," pp. xxvii-xl. The authorship of this biography of St. Bernardine by St. John Capistran has been questioned; but Fr. Ferdinand Doelle, O. F. M., in an article which appeared in *Franziskanische Studien*, has demonstrated that St. John Capistran wrote it (cf. Fr. Eric May's article in the present number of FRANCISCAN STUDIES).

(7) An excerpt on St. Bernardine from the manuscript work, *De Viris Illustribus*, in the Vatican Library, by Aeneas Silvius (Pius II), pp. xli-xlii.

(8) "Canonizatio Sancti Bernardini," pp. xliii-xlv.

(9) "Bulla Canonizationis," pp. xlv-xlvii.

(10) "Litterae B. Joannis a Capistrano ad Cives Aquilanos pro construendo Templo Sancti Bernardini," dated "Ex Exburga, x Octob. 1451," pp. xlviii-xlix.

(11) "Bulla pro capiendo templo et coenobio Sancti Bernardini," dated "Romae, 1451, 10. Kal. Octob.," pp. xlix-l.

(12) "Bulla translationis corporis S. Bernardini," dated "Romae, 1472, Kal. Maii," p. l.

(13) "Litterae decem Cardinalium ponentium indulgentiam in Ecclesia S. Bernardini de Aquila in quattuor festivitibus," dated 1477, 20 Oct., pp. l-li.

(14) "Epistola Ludovici Christianissimi Regis Francorum, de capsula argentea, quam ad monasterium S. Bernardini Aquilam misit pro conservatione eius corporis," dated "domo Plesseyaci Porci prope Turon," May 22, 1481, p. li.

(15) Letter to the French king from "Sixtus Papa III pro eadem capsula argentea Regis Francorum," dated Rome, June 28, 1481, p. li.

(16) "Arca Argentea," pp. lii-liiii.

(17) "Epitaphia," on the marble sarcophagus enclosing the silver and glass casket presented by the French king, pp. liii-liv.

(18) "Elogia in S. Bernardinum" (twenty in number), pp. liv-lvii.

(19) Two excerpts concerning St. Bernardine from the work of Augustinus Dathus, *Fragmenta Senensium historiarum*: from Book I, p. lvii, and from Book II, pp. lviii-lvix; also Dathus' "Oratio de laudibus S. Bernardini Senensis," pp. lvix-lxii.

(20) Testimonial concerning St. Bernardine by Marcus Antonius Benalius, from his *Comentaria de vita et gestis Sanctorum Bergomatum*, p. lxii.

(21) Testimonial concerning St. Bernardine in the epitome by Alexander Gattus of the *Historia* by Georgius Pilo Virunensis, p. lxii.

All of the preceding is introductory (62 pages), and is followed by the first and second volumes of the writings of St. Bernardine, the first being his *Quadragesimale de Religione Christiana* (61 sermons, pp. 1-415, divided into two columns), and the second being his *Quadragesimale de Evangelio Aeterno* (64 sermons, pp. 417-976). These are followed by De la Haye's "Index Sacrae Scripturae a S. Bernardino illustratae," and his very lengthy "Index Rerum memora bilium," for both volumes; these two indices constitute about one fourth of the entire tome. The authenticity of these two extended lenten courses is unquestioned. Each sermon is divided into three articles, and each article is subdivided into three chapters; and thus each sermon has a total of nine chapters. In point of fact, they are not sermons so much as well-digested treatises on the subjects which they discuss.

The *Quadragesimale de Religione Christiana* treats such topics as Faith, Fasting, The Lord's Prayer, Almsgiving, The Sufferings of the Just, The Worship of God, The Sin of Idolatry, The Last Judgment, True Contrition, Restitution, etc. In the *Breviarium Romano-Seraphicum* (O. F. M.); the homily for Tuesday within the octave of the feast of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus is taken from this course, namely from the fifth sermon; likewise the homily for the feast of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Mediatrix of All Graces, May 31, is taken from the fifty-first sermon in this course, which treats of the Passion of Our Lord (part two, article one, chapter three).

In the *Quadragesimale de Evangelio Aeterno* occur the treatises on contracts, usury, and related subjects. No less than fourteen "sermons" are devoted to these topics (Serm. 32-45). It may be well to call attention to the fact that the numbering of the sermons here and toward the end of the volume is faulty; the number of the last sermon is given as 66, whereas it should be 64. An Italian translation of these sermons of St. Bernardine on contracts, etc. was published at Venice in 1724; and a copy of this book is in the Sabatier Collection, rare book section, of the Boston Public Library.

Its title, as communicated to us by Fr. Bernardine Mazzarella, O. F. M., is: *Instruzioni Morali di San Bernardino da Siena intorno al traffico ed all'usura. Tradotto nella Volgar Favella*. Venezia, 1724. Ed. Gaspare Storti. (Cf. also the list of Bernardiniana in Holy Name College Library, Washington, D. C., in the present number of FRANCISCAN STUDIES.)

The second time of the 1635 printing of the De la Haye edition of the *Opera Omnia* of St. Bernardine contains volumes III, IV, and V. We shall list the contents of each of these volumes, and comment on the authenticity of some parts as well as call attention to some Italian and English translations.

Volume III, which has 611 pages not counting the lengthy indices at the end, contains the following thirteen sermon courses and treatises:

(1) *Adventuale de Christiana Vita*, 13 sermons, pp. 1-89. The homily for the feast of St. Bernardine, May 20, in the Franciscan Breviary (O. F. M.) is taken from the fifth sermon in this Advent course (article three, chapter three).

(2) *Quadragesimale de Pugna Spirituali*, 45 short sermons, pp. 90-156. Fr. Aloysius Tassi, O. F. M., has pointed out that this lenten course is of doubtful authenticity. After the General Chapter of the Order of Friars Minor in 1862 petitioned the Holy See to declare St. Bernardine a Doctor of the Church, Father Tassi undertook a careful investigation of the authenticity of the works of St. Bernardine published by De la Haye, collating the most ancient and reliable manuscripts with this edition. The results of his investigation, together with other documents relating to the inquiry instituted by the Sacred Congregation of Rites, appeared in a volume which was published at Rome in 1877.

(3) *Adventuale de Inspirationibus*, 5 sermons, pp. 157-202. This Advent course or treatise has been translated into Italian and annotated by Fr. Dionisio Pacetti, O. F. M.: *Opere di S. Bernardino da Siena. I Sermoni latini. Trattato delle Ispirazioni* (2 vols., xlviii, 172 and 157 pages; vide front inside cover of *Acta Ordinis Fratrum Minorum* (Quaracchi), May, 1941).

(4) *Quadragesimale Seraphin*, 49 sermons, pp. 203-434. This lenten course was preached by St. Bernardine at Padua in 1443, the year before his death; and the sermons were collected by Daniel de

Purziliis (Daniele de Purcillis), who took them down as they were preached in the vernacular and then translated them into Latin. Unlike the other sermons in the De la Haye edition, therefore, these were not put into writing by St. Bernardine himself.

Similarly, the course preached by St. Bernardine at Siena in 1425 was taken down in Italian by James Nannis de Griffulis and later translated into faulty Latin; but this course is not in the De la Haye edition (cf. Cuthbert Gumbinger, O. F. M. Cap., "St. Bernardine's Unedited *Prediche Volgari*," FRANCISCAN STUDIES (N. S.), IV (March, 1944), 21-31). In fact, the Latin version has not been published as yet except for one sermon, "On Bad Habits," which was edited by Fr. Salvatore Tosti, O. F. M., in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 1919. For the rest, these sermons are only summaries of those which were actually preached by St. Bernardine; and much of the material appears to be contained in those written in Latin by St. Bernardine himself and published in the De la Haye edition.

(5) *Sermones Extraordinarii*, 25 sermons, pp. 435-566. Fr. Tassi has proved that the second of these sermons, entitled "De Expugnatione Paradisi," is apocryphal. It should not be confused with the sixty-first and last sermon in the *Quadragesimale de Religione Christiana* which is entitled "De Pugna Paradisi" (vol. I, p. 406, col. 2 to p. 415, col. 2). The number of the last sermon of the *Sermones Extraordinarii* is given as 24, but it should be 25 because there are two numbered 15.

(6) *Tractatus Confessionis*, pp. 566-587. Noteworthy is the fact that the term "tractatus" and not "sermo" is used to describe this and subsequent items.

(7) *Tractatus de Speculo Peccatorum de Contemptu Mundi*, pp. 587-591.

(8) *Tractatus de Praeceptis Regulae Fratrum Minorum*, pp. 591-593.

(9) *Tractatus de Casibus Proprietatis Religiosi*, pp. 594-595.

(10) *Epistola ad Patres Familiae Ultramontane*, pp. 595-596. This letter of St. Bernardine has been printed also in *Analecta Franciscana*, II, 302, and in Wadding, *Annales Minorum* (old edition), XI, 102. He wrote it in 1440 to the Observants of Italy, whom he styles "Fratres locorum devotorum." The letter is characterized by

great mildness and moderation, also in regard to the question of poverty. In cases of doubt, says St. Bernardine, the superiors are to decide and the rest must conform; and he reprehends the fanatical poverty of some individuals who wished to remove from the friaries those things which they considered superfluous, although they had been acquired not by themselves but by their predecessors.

(11) *Tractatus de Aspirationibus Quotidianis ad Deum*, pp. 596-597. Short ejaculatory prayers for each day of the week. An English translation appeared in *Franciscan Herald and Forum*, September, 1944, p. 260.

(12) *Dialogus inter Religionem et Mundum Interlocutores, et Summum Pontificem Judicem*, pp. 597-600. Written in verse. This interesting dialogue was successfully staged at the "Actus Academicus" which was held in May, 1944, at Holy Name College, Washington, D. C., to commemorate the fifth centenary of the death of St. Bernardine.

(13) *Dialogus de Obedientia inter Bernardinum et Paulum Interlocutores*, pp. 601-611.

An "Index locorum Sacrae Scripturae," and an "Index Rerum Memorabilium," worked out in great detail by De la Haye, concludes this volume.

Volume IV, 324 pages not counting indices at the end, contains the following:

(1) *Sermones Eximii de Christo Domino*, 12 sermons, pp. 1-90. Sermons on the Nativity, the Holy Name, Epiphany, the Ascension of Our Lord, Pentecost, the Holy Eucharist, etc. Cardinal Vives, O. F. M. Cap., in 1903 compiled a work entitled: *De Dominica Passionis, Resurrectionis, et SS. Nominis Iesu contemplationes excerptae ex operibus Sancti Bernardini, notisque illustratae* (iv, 674 pages), which can still be purchased (cf. *Acta Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, May, 1941, front inside cover). And Fr. Dionisio Pacetti, O. F. M., has prepared an Italian translation with notes of the Latin sermons of St. Bernardine for the principal feasts of the year: *Opere di S. Bernardino da Siena. I Sermoni latini. Principali festività dell'anno*, xxxvi, 233 pages (cf. *Acta Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, loc. cit.)

(2) *Sermones pro Festivitatibus Sanctissimae et Immaculatae Virginis Mariae*, 13 sermons, pp. 91-166. The titles of these sermons in the De la Haye edition are as follows:

- I. De glorioso nomine Mariae quod interpretatur stella maris.
- II. De glorioso nomine Mariae quod interpretatur amarum mare.
- III. De glorioso nomine Virginis Mariae et quomodo Maria domina interpretatur.
- IV. De immaculata Virginis Conceptione.
- V. De Virginis matris Dei Nativitate et de eius superadmirabili gratia.
- VI. De Annunciatione Virginis.
- VII. De Consensu Virginali.
- VIII. Iterum de Consensu Virginali.
- IX. De Visitatione beatae Virginis seu de septem verbis Virginis gloriosae, in quibus septem gradus seu processus amoris insinuantur.
- X. De Purificatione beatae Mariae Virginis.
- XI. De Purificatione Virginis.
- XII. De Assumptione beatae Virginis Mariae.
- XIII. De Exaltatione beatae Virginis in gloria.

A comparison of these sermons with the edition of St. Bernardine's sermons on the Blessed Virgin printed by Frederic Kreusner at Nürnberg in 1493 shows that De la Haye made two sermons out of one; namely, the fifth, which has only one article with twelve short chapters, and the last, which has only two articles instead of the usual three. In Kreusner's edition, these two sermons form one which is entitled "De superadmirabili gracia et gloria matris Dei." The only one which we do not find in Kreusner's edition is the second sermon on the Purification of the Blessed Virgin (Sermon XI); and in the De la Haye edition this sermon consists of three short articles only, without the usual subdivision of each article into three chapters. Hence we are inclined to doubt the authenticity of Sermon XI. The order in Kreusner's edition is a little different also, Sermon VI appearing after Sermon VIII. And Kreusner does not entitle Sermon IV "De immaculata Virginis Conceptione" but "Sermo quartus generalis. In festivitatibus bte Marie Virginis et Marie in festo conceptionis, nativitatis vel annunciationis ejusdem." The result is, of course, that Kreusner's edition has only eleven sermons instead of the thirteen in the De la Haye edition.

A beautiful adaptation into English of Sermon IX has been made by Fr. Thomas Plassmann, O. F. M., and published by St. Anthony Guild as a pamphlet, *The Seven Words of Mary*.

(3) *Conciones de Tempore*, 21 sermons, pp. 167-295.

(4) *Sermones de Sanctis*, 4 sermons, pp. 296-324. These four sermons are on St. Joseph, St. Mary Magdalen, St. Francis of Assisi,

and All Saints. In the Franciscan Breviary (O. F. M.) the lessons of the second nocturn for the feast of the Solemnity of St. Joseph are taken from the first of these sermons (article one, chapters one and two); and for the second day within the octave, from the same sermon (article two, chapter one). An excellent English translation, with notes, of the sermon on St. Joseph, by Fr. Eric May, O. F. M. Cap., appeared in *Round Table of Franciscan Research* (Marathon, Wis.), IX (March, 1944), 164-177.

At the end of volume IV, there is again an "Index locorum Sacrae Scripturae" and a lengthy "Index Rerum memorabilium."

Volume V contains only the *Commentarii Sancti Bernardini Senensis in Apocalypsim*, pp. 1-177; and in this case, the "Index Sacrae Scripturae" and the "Index Rerum memorabilium" are at the beginning of the volume and preceded by a "Praefatio." Fr. Aloysius Tassi, O. F. M., has found these Commentaries to be of doubtful authenticity, though it is possible that further investigations will prove them to be genuine. However, as long as one can not definitely say that St. Bernardine wrote them, it will not be proper and scholarly to quote them as having been written by the saint. The authenticity of almost everything in the other four volumes of the *Opera Omnia* of St. Bernardine edited by De la Haye has been confirmed by the investigations of Father Tassi. Though it is desirable that a critical edition of the *Opera Omnia* be prepared and published, we can meanwhile make use of the De la Haye edition with great profit.

It has been claimed that a critical edition of St. Bernardine's writings will have to be printed before the saint can be declared a Doctor of the Church. But this was not done in the case of St. Albert the Great; and in view of the investigations of Father Tassi, would it not be possible for St. Bernardine to be elevated to the dignity of a Doctor of the Church even before such a critical edition is undertaken or at least before it is completed? The reason why the inquiry made by the Sacred Congregation of Rites in answer to the petition of the Franciscan General Chapter of 1862 was never brought to a successful issue, according to Thureau-Dangin, was "probably out of reluctance to create a precedent for the multiplication of similar demands." If that is true, then the reason would no

longer hold at the present day; for, since that time, no less than six saints have been declared Doctors of the Church.

THE RIDOLFI EDITION

By many the edition of the *Opera Omnia* of St. Bernardine by Pietro Ridolfi (Petrus Rodulphius), published at Venice in 1591 in four volumes, is considered to be better than that of De la Haye. Except for the fact, however, that volume V or the Commentaries on the Apocalypse attributed to St. Bernardine are not included in the Ridolfi edition, the difference between this edition and that of De la Haye is not very great. To the writer it seems that the De la Haye edition is more complete and presents a more orderly grouping of the sermons.

The title of the Ridolfi edition is as follows: *Sancti Bernardini Senensis Ordinis Minorum Opera quae extant omnia tam hucusque impressa quam recens inventa*, 4 vols., Venice, 1591. The contents of the four volumes are indicated in the following manner:

I. "Quadragesimale de Christiana religione, in quo uberrimi de Restitutionibus, ac de Passione Domini, Tractatus." This volume is practically the same as volume I of the De la Haye edition, including the introductory matter except, of course, De la Haye's life of St. Bernardine. At the end of the introductory matter is placed the "Disputatio inter Mundum et Religionem coram Papa," which De la Haye put into the third volume (no. 12).

II. "Quadragesimale de Evangelio aeterno ubi copiosissimus de Usuris, earumque Contractibus, Tractatus." The same as volume II of the De la Haye edition.

III. "Tertium Opus Sermonum appellatum in quo prae aliis de Spiritu Sancto, de B. Virgine, de octo Beatitudinibus, deque Obedientia evangelica Tractatus. Sermones septem, et Quadragesimale parvum Pugna spiritualis nuncupatum." The latter which appears also in volume III of De la Haye's edition is, as has been pointed out, of doubtful authenticity. Otherwise, this volume contains many sermons which De la Haye places in volume IV.

IV. "Quadragesimale Seraphin nuncupatum. Sermones extraordinarii." These are contained in volume III of the De la Haye edition.

THE *Prediche Volgari*

An article on the *Prediche Volgari* has already been contributed to FRANCISCAN STUDIES by Fr. Cuthbert Gumbinger, O. F. M. Cap. (N. S., IV (March, 1944), 7-33). What is mentioned here is added merely as a guide and supplement.

The *Prediche Volgari* were not put into writing by St. Bernardine himself, but by persons who heard him preach these sermons. They may be called writings of St. Bernardine, therefore, only in the sense that he can be said to have dictated them; and one must make allowance for mistakes and misunderstandings on the part of the actual writers. To a great extent, also, these sermons are only parts and summaries of the sermons which St. Bernardine preached. While the *Prediche Volgari* give us an insight into the manner in which St. Bernardine made use of the sermon material contained in his own writings, the student who is in quest of the true doctrine of St. Bernardine will prefer to consult the *Opera Omnia* edited by De la Haye and Ridolfi.

As far as is known, five of the sermon courses preached by St. Bernardine were recorded by persons who attended them. He gave these courses in the following cities and years: (1) Florence, 1424; (2) Florence, 1425; (3) Siena, 1425; (4) Siena, 1427; (5) Padua, 1443. The last mentioned appears to exist only in a Latin version, and has been included in both the De la Haye and the Ridolfi edition of the *Opera Omnia* of St. Bernardine. An example of this course is also given by Fr. Salvatore Tosti, O. F. M., in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 1919, pp. 256-263. The others have been published as follows:

(1) *Florence, 1424*. A course of 58 sermons, preached in the Franciscan Church of Santa Croce, March 8 to May 3, and taken down by an unknown stenographer. After Fr. Salvatore Tosti, O. F. M., had edited the twenty-fifth of the series in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 1919, pp. 225-231, and Giorgina Puglioli the fortieth in her book, *S. Bernardino da Siena e la sua attività in Firenze negli anni 1424-1425* (Rossini, Firenze, 1926), pp. 103-123, Fr. Ciro Cannarozzi, O. F. M., published the entire course: *S. Bernardino, Le Prediche Volgari (Il Quaresimale di Firenze nel 1424)* (Pacinotti, Pistoia, 1934), 2 vols, xlviii, 464 and 508 pages. The

following year Fr. Dionisio Pacetti, O. F. M., published some of these sermons, together with some from two other courses, adding notes of his own: *S. Bernardino da Siena, Le Prediche Volgari Inedite: Firenze, 1424, 1425; Siena, 1425 (Classici Cristiani, No. 56) (Cantagalli, Siena, 1935), 1 vol., 559 pages.*

(2) *Florence, 1425.* A course of at least 57 sermons, delivered from Septuagesima Sunday to the Octave of Easter inclusively, probably in the Franciscan Church of Santa Croce. It is unique by reason of the fact that there are extant not only one or more accounts of the sermons by a person or persons who heard them, but also a copy of St. Bernardine's manuscript in which he outlined and prepared them beforehand (Osservanza Codex, No. 28).

Fr. Pacetti in 1935 edited some of these sermons in his work mentioned above; and Fr. Ciro Cannarozzi, O. F. M., in 1940 published the entire series: *Opere di S. Bernardino da Siena. Le Prediche Volgari. Quaresimale del 1425* (Libreria Editrice Fiorentina, Firenze, 1940), 3 vols. (cf. *Acta Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, May, 1941, front inside cover).

(3) *Siena, 1425.* A course of 50 sermons preached at various places in Siena from April 20 to June 10. Summaries of the sermons were taken down by two different persons, one of them being James Nannis de Grigulis who also translated his Italian account into faulty Latin.

Fr. Salvatore Tosti, O. F. M., presented both the Latin and the Italian of one sermon, "On Bad Habits," in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 1919, pp. 241-253; and M. Sticco published some excerpts from the sermon on studies in *Vita e Pensiero* (Milan), 1921, pp. 354-366. In his work mentioned above, Fr. Pacetti in 1935 published additional sermons of this course. Three years later he put out another book: *S. Bernardino da Siena. Operette Volgari* (Fiorentina, Firenze, 1938); but we do not know what its contents are.

(4) *Siena, 1427.* A course of 45 sermons preached by St. Bernardine in the Piazza del Campo of Siena from August 15 to October 5. The man who took them down was Benedict di Messer Bartolomeo, a fuller; and he made a very painstaking effort to record every word spoken by the saint (cf. Cuthbert Gumbinger, O. F. M. Cap., "St. Bernardine of Siena, the Popular Preacher," *FRANCISCAN STUDIES*, N. S. II (March, 1942), 12-34). Hence the

sermons of this series of the *Prediche Volgari* are more truly "writings of St. Bernardine" than the others in which only the gist of what the saint said is preserved. Furthermore, the entire course has been made available in an excellent edition by Luciano Banchi: *Le Prediche volgari di S. Bernardino da Siena, dette nella Piazza del Campo di Siena l'anno 1427* (Siena, 1880-1888), 3 vols. The writer has been told that Banchi's edition of these sermons was reprinted in 1936, but he has not found any reference anywhere to such a second printing. At an earlier date (before Banchi's edition of 1880-1888) ten of the sermons preached at Siena in 1427 were edited by Dott. Gaetano Milanese, *Prediche Volgari di S. Bernardino da Siena per la prima volte messe in luce* (dell'Ancora, Siena, 1853); and recently Fr. Dionisio Pacetti, O. F. M., has republished parts of the Siena course of 1427: *S. Bernardino da Siena, Le Prediche Volgari: Campo di Siena, 1427* (*Classici Cristiani*, No. 55) (Cantagalli, Siena, 1935), one volume of 518 pages. (*Vide* also the other works listed by Fr. Cuthbert Gumbinger, O. F. M. Cap., *loc. cit.*, pp. 14-15, note 9, especially those of Bacci (1895), Galetti (1913), and Bargellini (1936), which seem to contain some of St. Bernardine's *Prediche Volgari*.)

SUGGESTIONS

In his letter on the fifth centenary of the passing of St. Bernardine, the Holy Father, Pope Pius XII, wrote: "May this very holy preacher of truth and charity return in a certain way to his own; may he admonish them again by his sweet and gentle voice; and may he move them in a salutary way by his shining example!" That this wish of the Supreme Pontiff may be fulfilled in the United States and the fruits of the centenary may be rendered secure among us, we venture to offer the following three suggestions: (1) the re-printing of the English translation of Thureau-Dangin's life of St. Bernardine; (2) the translation of more of St. Bernardine's sermons into English; (3) the republication of the Latin sermons of St. Bernardine.

1. Paul Thureau-Dangin of the French Academy wrote what is generally acknowledged to be the best modern life of St. Bernardine: *Un predicateur populaire dans l'Italie de la Renaissance: S. Bernardin de Sienne* (Paris, 1896). The original French was re-

printed in 1926, and again in Canada during the present year. An Italian translation by Msgr. Telemaco Barbetti appeared in 1897; a German translation by A. Götzelmann, in 1904; and an English translation by Baroness Von Hügel in 1906. A new and revised edition of the latter, with illustrations after the old masters annotated by G. F. Hill, appeared in 1911 from the press of Philip Lee Warner in London. However, the book seems to be rare in the United States; and the writer is of the opinion that there is a sufficient demand in this country for a reprinting of this excellent and scholarly biography of St. Bernardine. There is another very good life of St. Bernardine in English by A. G. Ferrers Howell (Methuen, 1913), and a short life by Maisie Ward (B. Herder, St. Louis, 1914); but we do not think that these will fill the demand as satisfactorily as Thureau-Dangin's biography.

2. Thus far only a few of St. Bernardine's sermons or excerpts from his sermons have been done into English. We have already called attention to English versions of St. Bernardine's sermon on "The Seven Words of Mary" and on St. Joseph. Excerpts from his sermons appear in the lives by Thureau-Dangin and Maisie Ward; also in a Protestant work, *A Festival Year with Great Preachers*, by J. M. Ashley (Hayes, London, 1871-1873). An entire book of selections from the sermons of St. Bernardine (248 pages) is: *Saint Bernardine of Siena, Sermons*, selected and edited by Don Nazareno, translated by Helen Josephine Robins (Tipografia Sociale, Siena, 1920). *Examples of San Bernardino*, chosen and rendered into English by Ada Harrison and illustrated by Robert Austin (150 pages), was published by Gerald Howe, London, in 1926.

More of the Latin sermons of St. Bernardine should be translated in the same manner as the sermon on St. Joseph was done into English by Fr. Eric May, O. F. M. Cap. And it would be a splendid undertaking to translate the *Prediche Volgari* edited by Banchi in three volumes (the Siena course of 1427).

3. One of the principal reasons perhaps why St. Bernardine is so little known is the fact that both the De la Haye and the Ridolfi editions of his writings are so rare in this country and consequently scholars find it very difficult to study them and make use of them. They could of course be multiplied to a certain extent by the micro-film process; but, since it will take many years before a new critical

edition of the Latin sermons of St. Bernardine can be put out, we believe it will be worth while to publish a facsimile reproduction of these sermons. For this new edition of the *Opera Omnia* of St. Bernardine we would take the De la Haye edition of 1635, of which a set is in the library of St. Anthony Friary in St. Louis. The type is large and easily legible, and only two large tomes would have to be reproduced. If necessary, the very lengthy and elaborate indices of De la Haye (unnumbered pages) could be omitted. That the price of such an edition of the *Opera Omnia* is not prohibitive is shown by the fact that Salvador Chavez Hayhoe of Mexico City has, during the past two years, published a facsimile reproduction (Tercera Edicion) of the 1723 edition of *Monarquía Indiana* by Fray Juan de Torquemada, three large tomes similar in size to those of the De la Haye edition of 1635 of the *Opera Omnia* of St. Bernardine. If a sufficient number of advance subscriptions to the *Opera Omnia* can be secured — and that should not be too difficult a matter — the same publisher may undertake their republication in facsimile. This final suggestion we consider the most important as a means for encouraging a more widespread study and use of the works of St. Bernardine, which in turn will probably do more than anything else toward promoting an early declaration of St. Bernardine of Siena as a Doctor of the Church.

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THE FRIENDSHIPS OF ST. BERNARDINE OF SIENA

DOZENS of articles have been written about St. Bernardine the "Popular Preacher," the "Apostle of Italy," the "Pillar of the Observance," "Herald of the Holy Name," and the like. There is one aspect of the Saint, however, which has not been adequately emphasized, a characteristic which seems to send its cry for publicity ringing down through the five centuries separating his day and ours. We have not heard enough about St. Bernardine, the Friend.

For a reformer, it is surprising how many friends St. Bernardine had. Though he worked to reform both his order and country, denouncing and correcting where such procedure was necessary, he won many and great friends among his Franciscan confreres and fellow-Italians.

We speak of Bernardine's friendships. They embraced many persons in varying degrees of intensity and intimacy. By instinct and by study the Saint knew the value of Sacred Scripture too well to have neglected the sound advice of the Holy Spirit given in Ecclesiasticus 6:14-16: "A faithful friend is a strong defence; and he that hath found him hath found a treasure. Nothing can be compared to a faithful friend. . . . A faithful friend is the medicine of life and immortality: and they that fear the Lord shall find him."

On second thought, it is not so surprising that many should have been eager to call Bernardine their friend. He had an abundance of natural good qualities on which grace built solidly. We have St. John Capistran's word for it that Bernardine never got excited, even when correcting others.¹ Aeneas Sylvius tells us that despite the Saint's emaciated features — nature's tribute to life-long mortification — Bernardine's face always shone with true Franciscan joy and never knew a frown or the appearance of sadness.² And there is that

1. "Nunquam enim aliquis potuit eum videre commotum, sed cum omni hilaritate fratres suos correxit et plus eum sequebantur et timebant, quam quod magna signa commotionis ostendisset;" from one of Capistran's sermons delivered after 1450. Ferdinandus Doelle, O. F. M., "Sermo S. Johannis de Capistrano O. F. M. Ineditus de S. Bernardino Senensi O. F. M.," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* (A. F. H.), VI (1913), 89.

2. "Ex Libello Manuscripto Aeneae Silvii, Pii II, De Viribus Illustribus," *Sancti Bernardini Senensis Opera Quae Extant Omnia*, ed. Petrus Rodulphius, Senogalliensis Episcopus (Venetiis, apud Iuntas, 1591), I, *in initio*.

delightful, casual phrase of the biographer Maphaeus Veghius describing how Bernardine, only several days removed from death, laughed good-humoredly at the affection shown him by the Perugians in erecting a special pulpit reserved for him.³

These are not isolated instances. They are not the offering of over-anxious, over-imaginative biographers. Bernardine was a lovable character even before he entered the order. As a boy he was a "regular fellow," sharing with his companions their youthful escapades.⁴ Yet there was that about Bernardine which made his young friends esteem him. They knew he would not tolerate questionable language in his presence; and they respected him for it.

We are told of an interesting incident in which Bernardine made good use of his young friends. A stranger in Siena was attracted by Bernardine's appearance and sought to lead him into sin. The Saint tried to correct the man who, however, persisted in molesting him. Bernardine hit upon a plan. He gathered his comrades and they filled their pockets with stones. Then they all sought out this individual. Finding the stranger in the market-place, they invited him, all unsuspecting, to accompany them to the gate of the city. He gladly did so with his own ends in view. As soon as they were in favorable surroundings, Bernardine gave the signal: an overwhelming shower of stones drove the man out of the city.⁵

The Saint retained his influence over his friends as they grew up. When the dreadful plague struck Siena in 1400 its hospital, La Scala, was filled to overflowing. Those who had been employed in the institution refused to remain in the face of the danger. Realizing the situation, Bernardine stepped forward and volunteered his services. Not only that—he talked twelve of his young friends into making a similar move, with the result that the plague was brought under control in four months.⁶ These friends in need were friends

3. *Acta Sanctorum*, Maii, V, 299 n. 42; quoted by Antonius Fantozzi, O. F. M., "Documenta Perusina de S. Bernardino Senensi," *A. F. H.*, XV (1922), 136, n. 1: "Ascendit et risit pariter bonus Pater, tantam videns diligentissimorum hominum erga se affectionem. . . ."

4. "Vita Sancti Bernardini Senensis, per Beatum Joannem a Capistrano Conscripta," *Opera Omnia S. Bernardini*, I, in *initio*.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.* Cf. also Paulus M. Sevesi, O. F. M., "Un Sermone Inedito del B. Michele Carcano su S. Bernardino da Siena," *Collectanea Franciscana*, II (1932), 391-392.

indeed, and the whole affair speaks well of the power of Bernardine's example and persuasiveness.

After entering the Franciscan order in 1402, the Saint retired shortly afterwards to the little hermitage of Columbaio outside Siena. His reason was that friends and relatives made too free use of access to the friary within the city.⁷ Bernardine desired a tranquil novitiate; so he fled his friends in order to spend quiet hours with his Best Friend.

INDIVIDUAL FRIENDS OF ST. BERNARDINE

The pages of history tell us of many individuals who were bound to St. Bernardine more or less intimately by ties of friendship. There were some outside the Franciscan order, some within; some whose names are known to us, others who remain unknown.

For instance, there is Ildebrando di Maretto, a boyhood chum whom Bernardine loved dearly and with whom he was very intimate. After the cessation of the plague at La Scala, Bernardine went to visit Ildebrando. While at the latter's house, we are told, he contracted a severe illness. For more than four months he stayed at this friend's house until he had fought off the sickness.⁸

As a Franciscan, Bernardine earned and retained the affection of many outside the order. We know that Pope Eugene IV, for example, had great love for both Bernardine and John Capistran, with whom he had much association because of his own great zeal for reforming monasteries.⁹ After Bernardine's preaching had been called into question a second time at the papal court, Pope Eugene wrote a splendid Bull in vindication which reads almost like a prelude to the announcement of the Saint's canonization.¹⁰

Duke Philip of Milan was another friend of Bernardine. This friendship was odd in that it opened on a note of antagonism, when the Saint preached fearlessly against some of the nobleman's practices. That feeling softened on the part of the Duke after he had

7. Lucas Wadding, O. F. M., *Annales Minorum (A. M.)*, 3 ed. (Quaracchi, 1932), IX, anno 1402, V.

8. *A. M.*, IX, 1380, XI; Capistran's "Vita," *loc. cit.*

9. Ludwig Pastor, *History of the Popes* (ed. Antrobus) (Herder, St. Louis, 1923), I, 358.

10. The analogy is that of Fr. John Hofer. The entire Bull is given in *A. M.*, X, 1432, V.

satisfied himself that Bernardine's virtue was genuine.¹¹ It was the Duke who sent messengers to Siena to verify a vision Bernardine received while preaching in Milan. Several years later (1421), the Duke gave the friars the use of a church and adjoining properties. In 1438, when Bernardine was defamed to the Council of Basle, the Duke assembled a number of learned men who acquitted him in short order.

Sigismund, King of the Romans, en route to Rome where he hoped to be solemnly crowned as Emperor, came to Siena in 1432. Here the fame of Bernardine, preaching in his native city at the time, quickly effected a meeting between the two, and a friendship sprang up. St. John Capistran vouches for their close friendship in the following words:

Adeo affectus est [Sigismundus] ad virum Dei et amicitia copulatus, quod ea die, qua sanctum Bernardinum propriis oculis non vidisset, aut in praedicationibus, vel in missis, sive alibi non visitasset, diem illum sine luce transisse decerneret.¹²

Sigismund remained in Siena nine months while negotiations were being made with the Holy Father.¹³ On his journey to Rome for the coronation he insisted on Bernardine's presence in his retinue. After the coronation, the Saint again had to accompany his friend to the borders of Tuscany.

When Pope Martin V died, some misguided persons in Siena began to defame Bernardine after he had left the city, accusing him of preaching errors and calling his motives into question. We are informed that a number of Bernardine's friends in the city sent word of what was going on; but we are not told who these friends were.¹⁴

11. Maisie Ward, *S. Bernardino: The People's Preacher* (Herder, St. Louis, 1914), pp. 32-34, gives the Duke's own account of how he had tried the Saint's poverty by tempting him with money. Cf. also Vittorino Facchinetti, *S. Bernardino da Siena, Mistico Sole del secolo XV* (Casa Editrice S. Lega Eucaristica, Milano, 1933), pp. 296 et seq. Other sources, however, see a real attempt at corruption or bribery in this action of the Duke; e.g., *A. M.*, X, 1418, XXX.

12. "Vita," *loc. cit.* Cf. Facchinetti, *op. cit.*, pp. 440-441. As a prelude to this friendship, however, Bernardine had to disprove the lies of others which had blackened his reputation in the eyes of Sigismund; cf. Johannes Hofer, *Johannes von Capestrano, Ein Leben im Kampf um die Reform der Kirche* (Tyrolia-Verlag, Innsbruck-Wien-München, 1936), p. 174.

13. Capistran's "Vita," *loc. cit.* Among those making the negotiations was Bartholomaeus Agatzanimo, a noble person "cum quo Frater Bernardinus familiariter vitam contraxit."

14. *A. M.*, X, 1432, II.

The Saint returned immediately and successfully silenced his detractors. Clearer than many words, this little incident shows that the friar had won his way into the hearts of not a few.

Bernardine likewise had good friends at Rome. For instance, there was Guido Antonio, a nobleman whose second wife was a niece of Martin V. Guido wielded much influence at the Roman court. He was zealous for the welfare of the Church and turned a kindly eye upon the Franciscan order, to which he had been affiliated with a share in all its merits and spiritual goods. It is not surprising, therefore, that on May 18, 1425, he addressed a petition to Pope Martin V asking that the three friars, Bernardine of Siena, John Capistran, and Matthew of Sicily, be permitted to preach anywhere for two years, and that each be allowed to take four priests as companions, with power to absolve from sins reserved to the Bishop.¹⁵ Furthermore, it is not at all unlikely that two years later, when St. Bernardine was called to Rome to answer the charge of heresy brought against him regarding the Holy Name, Guido Antonio was the friend of whom authors speak, who received him kindly and helped expedite his defense before Pope Martin V.

The names of two episcopal friends might be added here: Nicholas d'Albergati, Bishop of Bologna (1418-1426) and Cardinal of Holy Cross (d. 1443), and Anthony Casini, Bishop of Siena (1409-1427) and Cardinal of St. Marcellus (d. 1439). The latter particularly was on terms of special intimacy with the Saint, and came into contact with him at various periods in his life.¹⁶

The friendship of St. Bernardine extended similarly to many of his brethren within the order. Leaving aside for the moment St. John Capistran and Bl. Vincent of Siena whom we will treat later in greater detail, we note that Bernardine entertained great devotion for those other two "Pillars of the Observance" — St. James of the Marshes, and Bl. Albert of Sarteano.¹⁷ James was very close to both

15. Joseph M. Pou y Martí, O. F. M., "Commendatio SS. Bernardini Senensis et Joannis de Capistrano ac B. Matthaei ab Agrigento (1425)," *A. F. H.*, XXV (1932), 555-559.

16. Ephrem Longpré, O. F. M., "S. Bernardin de Sienne et le Nom de Jésus," *A. F. H.*, XXVIII (1935), 465, note 7.

17. Leander Gribben, O. F. M. Cap., "James of the Marches and Albert of Sarteano," *Round Table of Franciscan Research*, VI (1940-1941), 123-134. Cf. also René de Nantes, O. F. M. Cap., "Trois Apôtres Franciscains au XV^e Siècle," *Études Franciscaines*, II (1899), 598-601.

Bernardine and Capistran. Having drunk deeply at the wells of learning opened to him by the former, he faithfully put his knowledge into practice side by side with the latter. There is a touching passage in one of James' letters to Bernardine which hints at much which lies beneath the hard surface of history. "O pater mi benigne," he wrote, "recolo . . . quando scripsisti mihi ut scriberem tibi litteram consolatoriam propter magnas persecutiones, et sic feci; item quod scriberem papae et cardinalibus propter multas infamationes, et sic feci."¹⁸ Albert was also of one mind with Bernardine in seeking the best interests of the order. He was close to his master. Nevertheless Bernardine did not let his friendship for Albert stand in the way of prudence when, at the General Chapter of Padua in 1443, he voted against Albert who had been proposed for the Generalate.¹⁹ A friendship that could bring such a sacrifice must have been deep and true.

We cannot overlook another disciple of the saint who merited his warm friendship — Bl. Matthew of Sicily. This friar-bishop undoubtedly ranked high in Bernardine's esteem.²⁰ With Bernardine he had to endure much for his zeal in spreading devotion to the Holy Name of Jesus.²¹ Matthew, too, was present in Rome in 1427 to help Capistran and other confreres defend their master from the charge of heresy.

We could mention other friends of the Saint within the order. For example, there is Fr. Sanctes Boncor, who later wrote a biography of St. Bernardine. One author writes of him:

Ipse Fr. Sanctes Boncor, quod hucusque ignotum erat, inter amantissimos S. Bernardini discipulos censendus est, eiusque praedicationis methodi fidelissimus prosecutor, quem S. Bernardinus adhuc vivens amplexatus est, ut

18. G. Caselli, *Studi su S. Giacomo della Marca*, Ascoli, 1926, I, 35; quoted by Longpré, *op. cit.*, p. 469, note 1. Cf. also Facchinetti, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-87.

19. Cf. the interesting little piece of research by A. G. Little, "Nota Fr. Francisci Arimensis O. M. Conv. de relatione S. Bernardini Senensis ad Fratres Observantes," *A. F. H.*, II (1909), 164-165.

Apropos of our subject, we might point out that Fr. Franciscus Arimensis refers to Bernardine as one "cuius etiam ego, praedictus magister Franciscus, fui satis tunc [1443] amicus; utinam ipse modo sit meus;" and a little later, "et ego tenebam sibi societatem in capitulo [1443] ex mandato dicti generalis . . ." (*ibid.*).

20. *A. M.*, X, 1427, XI. He also shared the friendship of Guido Antonio. Cf. footnote 14 and text, *ut supra*.

21. Cf. Autbert Stroick, O. F. M., "Eine Anklageschrift gegen die Namen-Jesu-Verehrung des hl. Bernhardin von Siena aus dem Jahre 1431," *Franziskanische Studien*, XXIII (1936), 395 *et seq.*

scriptor fatetur: "Et za dignasti le tue humane brazia al collo mio restrengerle, abrazando questo por sempre to indigno servo (cap. LIV, f. 53)."²²

And there were others. But of all Bernardine's friends, two confreres stand head and shoulders above the rest. For St. John Capistran and for Bl. Vincent of Siena, Bernardine reserved his special, most intimate love.

ST. JOHN CAPISTRAN AND ST. BERNARDINE

The friendship between John Capistran and Bernardine was a beautiful one, supernatural, intimate, fire-tried, lasting. It reached beyond the grave. In seeking the basis of this friendship we do not find it in similarity of character. Quite the contrary is true. Previous to their meeting on the master-disciple basis — which relation, however, never detracted from their mutual ardent love — Bernardine had spent his early days in the world but not of it; Capistran, in and of it. That speaks volumes. Again, the former was always weak in physical constitution; the latter, strong, militant. Bernardine excelled in the theological sciences; Capistran, in the juridical. And yet, perhaps this very diversity of temperament, coupled with unity of purpose toward reform of the order and laity, accounted for their mutual attraction. In any event, we can be sure of Fara's testimony: "Their love for each other knew no bounds."²³

Was Capistran Bernardine's disciple? Tradition answers: yes. In his recent biography of St. John Capistran, John Hofer, C. Ss. R., replies in the negative. He lays great stress on the phrase employed by Capistran in a hitherto unknown letter, in which the Saint writes of Bernardine: "... sancti Bernardini, michi alterius patris, quia ipse praelatus meus, alterius filii, quia ego doctor suus."²⁴ But

22. Seraphinus Gaddoni, O. F. M., "Fr. Sanctes Boncor O. F. M., Opera Varia Vulgari Sermone," *A. F. H.*, V (1912), 99-100. Boncor's life of Bernardine is given in *La Verna*, IX (1911-1912), and X (1912-1913).

23. Nicholas de Fara, *Vita clarissimi viri Fratris Joannis de Capistrano*, 462, 73; quoted by Hofer, *op. cit.*, p. 116. Although a good English translation of this book has been published recently by Rev. Patrick Cummins, O. S. B., under title of *St. John Capistran, Reformer* (Herder, St. Louis, 1943), the translation has suffered in critical value. Hence our references are to the German original.

24. Letter to Georg Podebrad (1454); München, Cod. lat. 17833, f. 235v.; Hofer, *op. cit.*, p. 104 and notes. Hofer finds another argument in the diversity in style of Bernardine's and Capistran's preaching. Yet in an extensive article written some years previous to the biography, he wrote: "Johannes Kapistran hat seine Ausbildung zum Prediger in der Schule des hl. Bernhardin von Siena erhalten. Glühend verehrte er

Father Hofer's arguments do not seem sufficient to abolish solid tradition, which maintains that Capistran was Bernardine's disciple. A strong reason which tends to overthrow Father Hofer's contention is Bernardine's choice of words in his *Pia Deploratio* at the death of Bl. Vincent of Siena.²⁵ Addressing himself to his deceased friend, Bernardine says:

What faults I might have committed in my preaching, had not your sensible reasoning, your enlightened soul and highest discretion earnestly and carefully instructed me. . . . I confess that within the order I had no other teacher in the doctrine of the word of God except you [Vincent]. You were my master, you my teacher, you my guide and instructor, etc.

The full force of these words is felt only when one understands that these are Bernardine's *own* words, deliberately superadded to St. Bernard of Clairvaux's lament, upon which otherwise the *Pia Deploratio* is modeled almost verbatim. Until more convincing proof to the contrary is offered, we would like to consider the friendship between Bernardine and Capistran to have begun on a master-disciple basis, thus accepting in their fullest meaning the words uttered by Capistran when he heard of the death of Bernardine: "I have lost a master, I have found a protector!"²⁶

The friendship between the two ripened with time. They preached together, though when and where is not so certain.²⁷ So closely united were they that, as Nicholas Fara again testifies, each bound himself to obey the other alternately for three years.²⁸

The true test of friendship came with Bernardine's great hour of need. Accused in 1427 of preaching heresy concerning the Name of Jesus, he was summoned peremptorily to Rome for an accounting. Through other friends Bernardine let Capistran know of his predicament. The latter was in Rieti at the time. His response was immediate. He left everything, hastened to Aquila where he gath-

seinen grossen Meister, den er zeitweise auf seinen Predigtwanderungen begleiten durfte. . . . Es ist daher anzunehmen, dass sich Kapistran auch die Predigtweise des Meisters zu eigen gemacht hat. . . ." ("Zur Predigtstätigkeit des hl. Johannes Kapistran in deutschen Städten," *Franziskanische Studien*, XIII (1926), 128-129; cf. also pp. 152, 157).

25. Eric May, O. F. M. Cap., "The *Pia Deploratio* of St. Bernardine of Siena," *FRANCISCAN STUDIES*, II (N. S.) (1942), 247.

26. Nikolaus Lickl, O. F. M., "Das Wirken des heiligen Johannes Kapistran in und für Oesterreich," *Franziskanische Studien*, XIV (1927), 94, note 12.

27. Hofer, *op. cit.*, p. 115, says for one year, somewhere between 1424 and 1426.

28. René de Nantes, *op. cit.*, p. 588; Maisie Ward, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-68.

ered materials necessary to defend his friend, and made his way directly to the Eternal City where Bernardine was already on trial. Arrived there, he formed a procession of willing people who wended their way to St. Peter's, chanting hymns in honor of the Holy Name. Admitted to the disputation by the Pope, Capistran seconded Bernardine's defense so capably that his friend was completely vindicated.²⁹

In 1441 Bernardine, then Vicar General, being weighed down with cares and old age asked for and obtained his friend Capistran as coadjutor. Two years later the much-discussed General Chapter of the order was held at Padua. And here again is evidenced the true timbre of this friendship, but in a different way. Both had the best interests of the Franciscan order at heart, and yet the two did not see eye to eye when it came to the election of the Minister General. Capistran, of one mind with Pope Eugene IV in the matter, sought the election of Albert of Sarteano. But Bernardine, prompted by prudence and expediency, did not let his friendship for all three of these men prevent him from favoring the election of Anthony of Rusconi, a Conventual friar.³⁰ The move meant a big sacrifice for Bernardine and cost him the love of many of his brethren — but not that of his true friends. That is why in the next year, when he felt his end drawing near, Bernardine interrupted a preaching tour and turned his faltering steps towards Abruzzi, where he hoped, as Father Hofer puts it, to die in Capistran's arms.³¹

Once Bernardine had passed away, Capistran made it his primary aim to have his friend canonized as soon as possible. No one was more responsible than Capistran for Bernardine's canonization, which took place in 1450. To tell the whole story would require a book, whose main theme would spell the love and devotion of deep friendship. When news of Bernardine's death reached him in Sicily, Capistran hastened to Aquila where the body still lay exposed in its coffin. Arrived there, he had a personal confirmation of his friend's

29. *A. M.*, X, 1420, III; Facchinetti, *op. cit.*, pp. 367-370; Cuthbert Gumbinger, O. F. M. Cap., "St. Bernardine of Siena, the Popular Preacher," *FRANCISCAN STUDIES*, II (N. S.) (1942), 22.

30. Cf. Hofer, *Johannes von Capestrano*, pp. 232-233; 241-242; Eric May, O. F. M. Cap., "St. Bernardine of Siena," *Round Table of Franciscan Research*, VI (1940-1941), 89-90.

31. Hofer, *Johannes von Capestrano*, p. 260, and note 3.

sanctity in the form of a brilliant light shining above him during a sermon he preached on Bernardine.³² Before burial, Capistran obtained numerous relics of his friend, principally a flask full of his blood which had flowed miraculously from the long-dead body and thus caused the cessation of a dangerous feud within the city.³³ He carried this around with him wherever he went, together with other relics of Bernardine, using them to work many miracles.³⁴ He frequently preached on the sanctity of his deceased friend.³⁵

There were many obstacles to be overcome in paving the way to canonization. Capistran was impatient of delay. Many were the journeys he made between Aquila and Rome from 1444 to 1450, expediting the investigations of the papal commissions, refuting aspersions cast upon Bernardine's character, authenticating miracles and the like. When the process seemed to be moving too slowly, Capistran offered himself to be cast into a fire together with Bernardine's body, to prove to the world the sanctity of his friend.³⁶ At another time, when a recently deceased Franciscan lay brother began rivaling Bernardine by working miracles — threatening thereby the successful issue of the Saint's process — Capistran went to the lay brother's tomb and commanded him to cease working miracles until Bernardine was canonized.³⁷

We are told of a touching scene relative to the culmination of Capistran's labors in Bernardine's behalf. On the vigil of Pentecost, 1450, Capistran was in audience with Pope Nicholas V. The Pope teased the friar, intimating that everything had not yet been satisfactorily cleared up regarding the canonization. Capistran felt miserable. The Pontiff finally took compassion on him and ended his torture by telling him definitely: "Tomorrow I shall canonize

32. "Vita S. Bernardini," *loc. cit.*

33. Hofer, *Johannes von Capestrano*, p. 261, and note 7; *A. M.*, XI, 1444, XV.

34. Ferdinandus M. Delorme, O. F. M., "Ex Libro Miraculorum SS. Bernardini Senensis et Ioannis a Capistrano auctore Fr. Conrado de Freyestat," *A. F. H.*, XI (1918), 399 *et seq.*

35. Hofer, "Zur Predigtstätigkeit," pp. 131, 138. For one such sermon, cf. Ferdinandus Doelle, O. F. M., "Sermo S. Johannis," *op. cit.*, pp. 76-90.

36. *Vita S. Joannis a Capistrano scripta a Fr. Christophoro a Varisio, Acta Sanctorum*, Oct., X, 510, 83; quoted in Hofer, *Johannes von Capestrano*, p. 286. Cf. Facchinetti, *op. cit.*, p. 526.

37. Vincent Fitzgerald, O. F. M., *Saint John Capistran* (Longmans, Green, New York, 1911), p. 46; Maisie Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

Bernardine." At that, Capistran burst into tears. "It seems you were anxious, Brother John," said His Holiness. "Indeed," Capistran answered, "never before had I feared so much for the canonization."³⁸ And so, after many labors and troubles, the effective love of the one friar for the other won through.

Capistran did one thing more for his friend. He wrote one of the best biographies of Bernardine.³⁹ That he was eminently fitted for such a task cannot be doubted. He had been very intimate with his saintly confrere throughout his life, and had had him under his eyes since early years.⁴⁰

Who will doubt that Bernardine, for his part, from his throne in heaven interceded for Capistran in all the further labors of that Saint's life?

BL. VINCENT OF SIENA AND ST. BERNARDINE

St. Bernardine also had a best friend. Deeply as he loved John Capistran and the others, there was one confrere to whom he was bound by still closer bonds of friendship—Bl. Vincent of Siena. We find proportionately little reference made in history to the one who stood so near to Bernardine. Indeed, we may say that the Saint himself has written the most and the best on Vincent—which, no doubt, is as it should be.⁴¹

This love of Bernardine which brings out so clearly the great human qualities of the Saint, was mutual and non-exclusive, as we have seen, and above all supernatural and true. It lasted for the twenty-two years the two were together in the active apostolate throughout Italy. Maphaeus Veghius, in speaking of Bernardine's tender love for his confreres, writes:

38. Bernardinus Aquilanus, *Chronica fratrum minorum observantiae*, 36 f.; quoted in Hofer, *Johannes von Capestrano*, p. 296.

39. "Vita S. Bernardini," *loc. cit.* The attributing of this life to Capistran was questioned by the earlier Bollandists. But Fr. Ferdinandus Doelle, O.F.M., on the authority of the *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina*, 1190, and through his own reasoning, comes to the valid conclusion that Capistran was certainly the author ("Sermo S. Johannis," *op. cit.*, p. 80).

40. "Ex Libro Primo Fragmentorum Senensium historiarum, quas Augustinus Dathus conscripsit," *Opera Omnia S. Bernardini*, I, in *initio*; A.M., XII, 1448, II; Roland Dusick, O.F.M. Cap., "St. John Capistran," *Round Table of Franciscan Research*, VI (1940-1941), 104-119.

41. FRANCISCAN STUDIES, II (N.S.) (1942), 238-250 contains a translation of the entire lament with introduction and critical notes.

Quod maxime animadversum est in Fratre Vincentio dilectissimo socio ejus, cujus mortem magna cum amoris teneritudine magnisque cum lacrymis prosecutus est, inquires insuper, non dignum se tali socio exstitisse.⁴²

Bernardine himself, speaking in his *Pia Deploratio* at the death of Vincent, makes his own the sentiments of St. Bernard: "Who else was so very intimate with me? To whom was I equally beloved?" and for emphasis adds words of his own, calling Vincent his "other self." The lament goes on: "We have loved each other in life, how is it that we have been separated in death?" The Saint addresses himself to Vincent: "While you were alive, when did you leave my side? . . . Who would not have spared the sweet bond of our mutual affection except death?" Then addressing himself to Death: "Envious of my labors, you have taken from me my dearest friend, to whose zeal most of all the fruitfulness of my labors is due — if these labors were fruitful." And thus the glorious tribute of sorrow, praise, and gratitude goes on. Repeatedly Bernardine refers to Vincent as his best, his spiritual friend, one who had an equal share in his soul. When one finishes reading this eulogy, one begins to understand the depths of the love of friendship of which the heart of a Saint is capable.⁴³

Vincent of Siena was a priest, an Observant friar, Bernardine's constant companion in his preaching tours for more than twenty-two years. He shared the Saint's sorrows, his consolations, and the most intimate secrets of his heart.⁴⁴ From about the year 1420, he went from city to city with his master and friend, and their necessary companions. In the faculties conceded to Bernardine, Capistran, and Matthew of Sicily in 1425 at the request of Guido Antonio,⁴⁵ the friars were also given permission to take with them four priests as companions. No doubt Vincent also participated in the faculties under this heading.

Vincent was the one who arranged the time for the Saint's sermon, gave the signal for its start and timed it, watched the reactions of the people to the sermon, clarified these opinions later by mingling

42. Quoted in Facchinetti, *op. cit.*, p. 485, note 3.

43. *Pia Deploratio*, *op. cit.*

44. On his deathbed at Capriola in 1442, Vincent grieved that an oath of secrecy to which Bernardine had bound him did not permit him to reveal "such things as would cause the whole world to wonder and admire." *A. M.*, XI, 1442, XIV.

45. Pou y Martí, "Commendatio," *A. F. H.*, XXV (1932), 557.

with the townsfolk and keeping his ears open, and then advised Bernardine of the results. He was never far from the Saint for long at any time of the day, especially during the preaching. He also cared for the manuscripts Bernardine took with him on his journeys.⁴⁶

From the *Pia Deploratio* we can gain further knowledge of the relations between Bernardine and Vincent. When the Saint called Vincent the "rod of his weakness," his "guide and director," he meant every word. Vincent was a kind of personal bodyguard to Bernardine. He saw to it that his friend got necessary rest; he intercepted well-intentioned but annoying admirers; cared for the infirmities of the Saint; and, in general, showed him all the tender solicitude of a mother and, therefore, of a best friend. From one of Bernardine's letters we may gather that at certain times at least, Vincent also assisted his friend as secretary in the matter of correspondence.⁴⁷

Vincent shared with Bernardine those anxious moments in 1427 when the latter had to defend himself from the charge of heresy. Vincent had incurred similar enmity from Bernardine's accusers when, after he had been asked by a married noblewoman whether she could take a vow to leave her husband as often as and whenever called upon to do so in order to flee the persecution of anti-Christ, Vincent had answered that she could not leave her husband without his knowledge and permission.⁴⁸

In 1432, when Bernardine wished to quit Rome since only a handful attended his sermons because of the detractions of his enemies, Vincent persuaded his friend to continue preaching. Bernardine's popularity thereupon increased so rapidly that he had to preach in Rome for eight months.⁴⁹

There is a delightful account of Bernardine's miraculous powers given by Wadding at the beginning of the Saint's apostolate. When he and his *socius* (most likely, Vincent of Siena) came to the bank of a river and asked the ferryman to take them over to the opposite

46. Cuthbert Gumbinger, *op. cit.*, p. 25 *et seq.*

47. *Una Lettera Inedita di S. Bernardino da Siena (Nozze Sansedoni-Tolomei)* (Tip. dell'Ancora di G. Bargellini, Siena, 1868). Bernardine's first words are: "Ho veduta la lettera avete scripti al nostro fra Vincenzo, et del desiderio avete sentire di noi. . . ."

48. *A. M.*, X, 1420, III.

49. Sevesi, "Un Sermone Inedito," *Collectanea Franciscana*, II (1932), 394.

bank since Bernardine had to preach in the town there, the man curtly refused unless they paid. Because they had no money, while the ferryman was adamant, Bernardine turned to his *socius* and asked: "My brother, have you firm faith in the Lord?" The other answered in the affirmative. The Saint asked again: "Can you imitate what you see me do?" Once more, an affirmative answer. Whereupon the Saint took off his mantle, spread it upon the water, and both he and his companion, kneeling safely on the cloak and praying aloud, passed across the river to the great stupefaction of all who witnessed it.⁵⁰

One time Bernardine decided to have some fun with his companion. With a twinkle in his eye he asked: "Suppose I were elected a Bishop; what would you advise me to do?" "Refuse," came the prompt answer. "And if an Archbishop?" "Refuse," again came the reply, "because you can do more good as a preacher." "But suppose I were elevated to the Cardinalate or Papacy — what then?" The friar thought for a moment, then said: "I would counsel you to accept." But at this stage Bernardine grew serious and took his companion to task for his last response, telling him that it would be a sign of diabolical pride were one to refuse a bishopric and then consent to become a Cardinal or Pope.⁵¹

Bl. Vincent of Siena died in 1442. His passing was a severe blow for Bernardine from which, humanly speaking, he never really recovered. In his own words he tells the world:

To be sure, many who were present at the funeral of my beloved brother wondered as they saw the tears burst forth from the eyes of my heart. I dissimulated, but the fire hidden within my heart set fire to and fed on my interior; the hidden flame spread by degrees, raged more sharply, and finally burst forth into tears.⁵²

Such was the love and friendship of this Friar Minor. Thoroughly Franciscan, he placed human friendship in its proper relation to love

50. *A. M.*, X, 1420, IV.

51. Paolo Sevesi, O. F. M., "Un Sermone Inedito del B. Michele Carcano su S. Bernardino da Siena," *Studi Francescani*, XXVIII [S. 3A-3], (1931), 83. Facchinetti however refers this little incident not to Vincent but to a lay-brother, Fra Angelo delle Pesche, whom Bernardine loved for his simplicity (*op. cit.*, pp. 249-250). Facchinetti does infer, nevertheless, that Bernardine asked Vincent's advice after the former had actually been offered the first of the three bishoprics which he refused (*ibid.*, pp. 248-249).

52. *Pia Deploratio*, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

for God. He loved many and he loved much. He loved some more than others and he even had his "best friend" on earth. But it was all regulated always, another way of showing God how ardently his heart beat for love of Him in loving his own fellowmen. The friendships of this great Friar Minor are a revelation, with a clear and consoling lesson for all to read.

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THE FRANCISCANS OF THE MOTHER OF GOD PROVINCE IN SUMATRA

VERY little is known about the Portuguese Franciscans who worked on the island of Sumatra. This is due to the fact that the Franciscans of the Indian Provinces,¹ who missioned this territory, have left hardly any chronicles. Regarding the early Franciscans, who worked in these regions, we possess the chronicle of "the Province of Portugal" by Soledade.² From him we learn that four Franciscans, Francis de Lisboa, John de Castanheda, Basil do Condeyxa and Anthony do Porto went to the island of Sumatra, but since we have limited ourselves to the Franciscans of the Mother of God Province, we will refrain from commenting on these four. Of the latter Province there exists one chronicle, that by Jacinto de Deos, O. F. M.,³ which was completed in the year 1679. Consequently all modern historians know only of the Franciscans who worked in Sumatra up to this date.⁴

While doing research-work at the Public Archives of Goa, we accidentally came across a few items of interest regarding the Franciscans in Sumatra. Although we have not studied this point thoroughly and therefore lay no claim to completeness, we have found it worth while to publish what we have found, especially since considerable attention has been paid in recent years to the mission-history of the Dutch East Indies.⁵ We will begin, however, with

1. There were formerly two Provinces in India, the St. Thomas Province and the Mother of God Province, cf. Achilles Meersman, O. F. M., *The Friars Minor or Franciscans in India* (Karachi, 1943), pp. 14-21.

2. Fernando da Soledade, O. F. M., *Historia Serafica Cronologica da Ordem de São Francisco na Provincia de Portugal* (Lisboa, 1705 and 1735).

3. Jacinto de Deos, O. F. M., *Vergel de Plantas e Flores da Provincia da Madre de Deos* (Lisboa, 1690).

4. Leonhard Lemmens, O. F. M., *Geschichte der Franziskaner Missionem* (Münster, 1929), p. 120.

5. B. J. J. Visser, M. S. C., *Onder Portugeesch-Spaansche Vlag. De Katholieke Missie van Indonesie, 1511-1605* (Amsterdam, 1926); L. Wessels, S. J., *Geschiedenis der R. K. Missie in Amboina, 1546-1605* (Nijmegen-Utrecht, 1926); S. Stokman, O. F. M., "De eerste Missionarissen van Borneo," *Historisch Tijdschrift*, VII (1928), 358; Idem, "Gegevens over de Missie op Flores, Timor en Java," *Studia Catholica*, IV (1927), 34; Idem, "De Missies der Minderbroeders op de Molukken, Celebes en Sangihe in de XVIe en XVIIe Eeuw," *Collectanea Franciscana Neerlandica*, II (1931). It may be interesting to add here the name of a Franciscan missionary who worked in Macassar (Celebes) and who is not generally known as such: "O Padre frey Francisco das Chagas de Setembro dito té Abril de 1648, foi Commissario visitador da Ordem Terceira e leuado do zello da saluação das almas do paganismo, largou o officio partindo para a mição do Macassa onde santamente rendeo o espirito tao anci-

briefly giving what Jacinto de Deos, O. F. M., states in his chronicle regarding the Fathers of his Province.

In 1638 two Franciscans of the Mother of God Province, Fr. Manuel do Desterro and Bro. Francis da Conceição, accompanied the ambassador of the Portuguese Viceroy, Francisco de Souza de Castro, to the kingdom of Atjeh (Achin, Achem) on the island of Sumatra. Shortly after their arrival they were taken prisoners and, together with Blessed Dionysius a Nativitate, Blessed Redemptus a Cruce, and a group of Portuguese, were put to death by the Mohammedans.⁶ Strange that the Franciscans made no attempt to have these two Friars beatified together with the two Carmelites, though the documents are as clear regarding their martyrdom as they are regarding the martyrdom of the two Beati. In the old monastery of St. Francis of Assisi at Goa, we saw a number of paintings representing the martyrdom of various Franciscans who in the course of time lost their lives in India and the neighboring regions. One of them pictures Manuel do Desterro and Francis da Conceição being put to death. It bears the following inscription:

Mostrou Deos a gloria das almas do V. P. Fr. Manoel do Desterro e Fr. Francisco da Conceição, Leygo na incorruptibilidade dos seus corpos em premio do fervor com que publicarão no Reyno do Achem, no anno de 1638 a fé de Jesus Chro, que comprovarão com o desprezo nas riquezas e regalos, que os Mouros lhes offreciavão para dezistirem da ley e do santo ministro que exercião, e resignação, com que soffrer ão, que seus corpos fossem despedaços.⁷

The next Franciscans to go to Sumatra were Fathers Gaspar Baudista and Sebastian da Annuniação. They had been sent in 1668 by

oso de martirio" (F. X. Vaz, "Um Manuscrito do Convento de S. Francisco D'Assiz de Goa," *O Oriente Português*, IV (1907), 229).

6. Jacinto de Deus, O. F. M., *loc. cit.* In his *Leven van den Zal. Dionysius a Nativitate en den Zal. Redemptus a Cruce* (Yper-Amsterdam, 1900), Fr. Henricus a S. Familia, O. C. D., puts the question whether Fr. Manoel and Bro. Francis were Friars Minor or Capuchins. This confusion is due to the fact that the Franciscans of the Mother of God Province, as also many Friars in Portugal, Brazil, and even in England (e.g. those of the Portuguese Piedade Province who went thither) were called Capuchos. This word must not be confounded with Capuchinho, the term used when indicating the Capuchins (cf. Achilles Meersman, O. F. M., "Capuchos e Capuchinhos," *O Oriente Português*, 1937, No. 18, pp. 127-129).

7. "God revealed the glory of the souls of the Venerable Father Manoel do Desterro and Friar Francis da Conceição through the integrity of their bodies, as a reward for the fervor with which they preached the Faith of Jesus Christ in the kingdom of Atjeh in the year 1638, which they proved by despising the riches and luxuries which the Mohammedans offered them in order that they might betray their law and the ministry which they exercised, and the resignation with which they suffered that their bodies were cut to pieces."

Joao Nunes da Cunha, Conde de S. Vicente and Viceroy of India, to arrange a treaty between the Queen of Achin and the Portuguese Crown and also to investigate the possibility of establishing a mission in that kingdom. The mission to the Queen's Court was successful. The Fathers were even permitted to found a house there. With these tidings Fr. Gaspar returned to Goa to obtain confirmation of what he had arranged and receive new instructions. This Fr. Gaspar seems to have been a man of exceptional talents and to have enjoyed the confidence of the authorities at Goa, for we find him some time later at Surat representing the Portuguese Government in straightening out certain matters with the Great Mogul.⁸

Fr. Gaspar, however, after concluding his business at Goa, returned to Atjeh. He was able to baptize a few natives and also a number of French and English who resided there, probably as merchants. Once more he returned to Goa on Church and State matters, but was never able to set foot again on his beloved Sumatra, for soon afterwards he died at the Madre de Deus Monastery, Daugim, Goa.

Fr. Jerome de Paixao was sent to Atjeh, but unfortunately died soon after his arrival. Fr. Sebastian, Fr. Gaspar's first companion, after having labored a number of years in that region, returned to Goa on business and after having concluded his affairs went back to Atjeh and died. Fr. Bento de Christo and Fr. Manoel de Jesus were still working on the island of Sumatra when Fr. Jacinto de Deus finished his chronicle in 1679.⁹

The church which the Franciscans had founded in Atjeh, had been dedicated to Our Lady of the Assumption. In the year 1685 there were three Friars laboring in that region and three had already died. In the same document from which we have gleaned this information it is stated that the Portuguese Government was not allowing them any grant for their maintenance.¹⁰

In 1713 the Franciscans had only one house in Sumatra, namely that of St. Francis; and probably the Church of the Assumption was attached to it. At that time there were only two Friars in residence.

8. Julio F. J. Biker, *Colecção de Tratados*, 14 vols. (Lisboa, 1881-1887), IV, 176-181.

9. Jacinto de Deus, *loc. cit.*, 550-551.

10. Petition of the Procurator of the Mother of God Province forwarded in 1685 to the King of Portugal, MS., Public Archives of Goa, Livro de Monções, 50, 74.

The mission was not in a flourishing condition, but this should not surprise us, since Atjeh was a Mohammedan kingdom. The Fathers must have remained chiefly to look after the Catholic immigrants who had flocked there. The Franciscans in those days received very little help from the Portuguese Government, though they were entitled to a part of the 600 seraphins the authorities granted to the Madre de Deus Monastery at Daugim.¹¹

Regarding the state of affairs around the year 1745 we have the following from a report written by Fr. Bernardino de Maria, O.F.M., to the King of Portugal:

Since no ships, which come to this port of Goa, have arrived these last years, we have not received any definite news regarding the state in which the missions of Atjeh and Junsalem¹² find themselves, where actually five religious are working, whose names are Fr. Romé de N. S. da Piedade of the mission of Junsalem, Fr. Rodrigo da Assumpção, Fr. Alberto Peccador, Fr. Leão dos Remedios, Prelate of the mission of Atjeh, and Fr. Philippe de Jesus Maria, Commissary and Visitor, whom my predecessor sent in the beginning of his term of office, by way of Surat and Madras and thence to the said missions according to the accommodation he would be able to find. From this religious we received a letter in the beginning of the month of January of the current year, which had been written the 17th of March of the previous year in which he makes known that the mission of Junsalem is about to be abandoned since the king of Siam had promulgated a decree prohibiting the baptizing of his subjects. . . . About the mission of Atjeh we do not know anything else than that the Father there is in great need, with little increase in the service of God, this decadence being due to lack of material means for its conservation, because, the poverty of those Christians being almost extreme, it is necessary that the Father continually go around to the neighboring kingdoms to beg, in order to maintain that Christianity and free it from the oppression to which the Moors generally subject it.¹³

In an old manuscript, pertaining to the Order, which we presume was commenced around the year 1765, we found the following: "With great trouble [the Province] is retaining the old mission of

11. Report of Fr. Jacome da Conceição, O.F.M., Provincial, dd. 16 Nov., 1713, MS., Public Archives of Goa, Livro de Monções, 79, 339.

12. Junsalem must be somewhere in Tennaserim on the Malay peninsula. We were quite at a loss where the place lay until we came across the following text: "Consumiram-se os mantimentos e foram obrigados a ir prover-se delles aos portos de Junsalão ou Tanassari . . . (Francisco de Souza, S. J., *O Oriente Conquistado*, 2nd edn. (Bombay, 1881), I, 240)."

13. Report of Fr. Bernardino de Maria, O.F.M., Provincial, dd. 26 Jan. 1745, MS., Public Archives of Goa, Livro de Monções, 117, 276.

Atjeh, where it has seven churches and in them the Religious reap abundant fruit.”

Finally in his report of the year 1789 Fr. Jerome de Jesus Maria José simply states that the Province has still the mission in Atjeh.¹⁴

This is the last note we possess regarding the Franciscans of the Mother of God Province on the island of Sumatra. Now comes the question: when did they abandon this mission? Probably towards the end of the eighteenth century, when the anti-clerical spirit and legislation was more and more being felt both in Portugal and in India, whence the missionaries for Sumatra were drafted, and which finally wrought the extinction of the entire Province.¹⁵

In judging the number of missionaries in a given territory we must always bear in mind that in former years it was not a general principle to allot whole countries or regions to individual religious orders. The policy was to allow missionaries of various orders to work in the same field. Hence we find the orders having one or more houses in many fields and spread out over the length and breadth of the Orient. Hence too we cannot accuse the individual orders of going about at random and being indifferent to evangelizing a territory thoroughly.

ACHILLES MEERSMAN, O. F. M.

*Franciscan Friary,
Karachi, India.*

14. Report of Fr. Jerome de Jesus Maria José, O. F. M., dd. 23 Jan. 1789, MS., Public Archives of Goa, Livro de Monções, 170A, 109.

15. Achilles Meersman, O. F. M., *The Friars Minor or Franciscans in India*, 123.

SAINTS' LIVES ATTRIBUTED TO NICHOLAS BOZON

LA VIE SEINTE JULIANE VIRGINE [102V, COL. 2]

Ore escotez un estorie		E il la fit dunc avaler	
Ke bien est digne de memorie		Comaunda ploum demfoundrer	
Ourte lesce une e bele ¹		E sur la teste de li verser	40
De Juliane la pucele		Ne par cel ploum ke fut ardant	
Son pere e ses parenz	5	Ele nout mal tant ne kant	
Mescreanz furent paens		Ki a rage e fors ke li	
Ele refusa la vie veyne		Si appella sa gent a li	
E <i>privement</i> fut cristiene		De une cheigne la fit lier	45
Son pere la fit marier		En une <i>prison</i> e e enfermer	
A un homme de <i>grant</i> pouer	10	Cele nute le diable vint	
A li ne voleit ele assentir		E la dit tut issint	
Pur rien ke lem poeit dir		Dieu son angel <i>vus</i> enveit	
Dit elege son barun		E <i>vus</i> mande coment ke seit	50
Chere amye quele eschesun		Ke a vostre barun acordez	
En moy trovez a despire	15	En dieus quil creit ke <i>vus</i> creez	
Ele respount certes sire		Pur les peynes kil fet purveer	
Jeo <i>vus</i> dirrey en bone fey		Ke <i>vus</i> ne poez endurer	
Si <i>vus</i> prenez a ma ley		Juliane fut effrey	55
De crere en dieu en ki ieo crey		Allas dit ele ieo ke fray	
Mon cher segnour <i>vus</i> tendrey	20	Sir dieu omnipotent	
E si noun ² pur nule rien		Mustrez moy apertement	
Ne me assent <i>vus</i> di ieo bien		Ki cesti est ki me entice	
Dunc dit elege a la pucele		De chaungier vertu en vice	60
Vostre cunseile nest bon ne bele		Mon verey dieu renier	
Jeo serrey dunc a morte livere	25	Pur un trunc ou un per	
Le emperour ad comande [103r,		Une voyce vint dunc a li	
col. 1]		De vostre cheigne ieo <i>vus</i> deli	
Si trove seit un cristien		De cele cheigne le liez	65
Kil seit pene e mort par meyn		E dunt est venu lenquerez	
Si <i>vus</i> dotez le emperour		Ele prist le diable e le lia	
Pur peyne dit ele de poy deour	30	E le batit e demaunda [103r,	
Bien fet dunc a doter		col. 2]	
Peyne ke tuz iours det durer		Ki estes <i>vus</i> ke me enticez	
Kant aparceut li <i>grant</i> sir		Mon dieu guerpier pur maufez	70
Ke a li ne vout assentir		Merci merci noble dame	
Par les chevuz la pendi	35	Jeo su desceyvour de meynthe	
Un demy iour sanz merci		alme	
Dieu la sustint sanz mal aver		Kant ieo vinc ieo savei bien	
		Ke vencu serrei maugre meien	
		Mes ieo ne osei autrement	75
		Si ieo ne venise prestement	
		Pur mon mestre ki me fit	
		Isci venir pur aver despit	
		Vostre mestre ki est celi	

1. The reading of line 3 is not sure; "une e bele" is clear, but the first words seem to be what is here written.

2. Line 21: "noun" is followed by a question mark (?). It is the rejoinder of the husband; Juliana's answer follows the question.

Belzebug dame <i>vus</i> di	80	E cele gent sunt comandee	
De celi avum comandement		Ke tantost fusement decolee	125
A desturber la bone entent		Baptizez en lur sanc demeyne	
De cels ki sunt cristiens		A ioie vount hors de peyne	
Kar force ne fesums de paens		Li maufez fit dunc autrevez	
En cels ne ad rien a desturber	85	Foundrer ploum plus ke asez	
Kar il funt tut nostre voler		E juliane fit gettre leynz	130
Kant <i>nus</i> espleytums il <i>nus</i>		Meis ele ne valut ia le meyns	
mercie		Meis entant plus valut	
Kant <i>nus</i> failums <i>nus</i> bate e lie		Ke sa nobleye par tant crut	
E <i>nus</i> peyne diversement		Le cheytif dunc se coroucea	
De fere <i>nus</i> egre sur la gent	90	Ses dieus demeyne maudia	135
Ore dit ele me diez		Ke tant ne aveient de pouer	
Quels sunt les choses ke plus		Ke de une femme se pount ven-	
haez		ger	
Entre cristiens ke ore sount		Alez dit il a ses sergeanz	
Esparpliez par my le mound		Si la menez hors a chaunz	
Messe dit il e sarmoun	95	E la seit tost decolee	140
E penance e oreysoun		Ke mes ne seyums tariee	
Cels quatre choses par noun		Kant ele fut menee avant	
Le sacrement del auter		Un vallet vint apres criant	
Nus reboute par tut arer		Jeo <i>vus</i> <i>pri</i> mes cheres amys	
E par vertu de prechement	100	Ne esparniez point nos enmys	145
Nus perdoums sovent plusurs		Juliane ceste hagurnele	
gent		A nos dieus est trop delele	
Oreisone e penance		E a moy ke su le vostre	
Ne sunt a nus fors sette e lance		Ce est par sa pater nostre	
Ore savez nos <i>priveitez</i>		Si me a fet tel despit	150
Bien me serra reherciez	105	Ke ceste nute me batit	
Kant ele fut maunde lendemeyn		E pus me getta en un lungayn	
Le diable en cheigne <i>prit</i> en sa		[103v, col. 2]	
mayn		Bien est digne de morir par	
Par my la reuwe avant se met		mayn	
En my la lungaygne le diable get		Juliane regarda derer	
Devant le tirant ele pus vint		E aparceut de veuwe cler	155
[103v, col. 1]	110	Ke ceo fu le maufe	
E pur la creance kele tint		O ki ele out la nute parle	
Un engyn fit lever		Kant ele regarda si vers li	
En cel engyn la fit pener		Le diable tost sen fuy	
Deke la chare fut aracee		E dit en gettant un hidus cri	160
E plusurs des oses debrisée	115	Si ele me prent ieo su honi	
Un angel de ciel descendyt		A celi elege turmentour	
En plusurs peces lengyn fendyt		Avint asez mal aventur	
Tutes ses pleyes par tut, saneit		En une neef ou fut entree	
Dunt le puple se merveyloit		Cheytivement fu nehe	165
E par la vewe ke la virent	120	Ne dirrey ia pur lalme deli ³	
Cinc cens hommes convertirent		Ne pater nostre ne ave mari	
Femmes ausi cent e trent			
Se convertirent par cel entent			

3. Line 166: de li.

La seinte femme est decolee
 E noblement a dieu passee
 De *prier* pur li serreit tort 170
 Grant outrage e errur fort
 Meis ieo la *pri* pur la noblesce

Ke dieu la dona en iunesce
 Le mound aveindre e le maufe⁴
 Ke par sa *priere* seyums sauve. 175
 amen.

4. Line 174: a veindre.

LA VIE SEINTE AGACE VIRGINE [105V, COL. 2]

Ore voyle cunter de seinte agace
 Ki de bounte suyt la trace
 Ele comencea par tens
 A dieu doner touz ses sens
 En cathanense la citee 5
 Pur dieu amour fut turmentee
 E la manere *vus* dirray
 Cum escrit trove le ay
 Par *quintian* ki fut iustise 10
 Fut la verite bien enquisse
 Kele esteit cristiene
 Ke il ne pas vie seine
 Par tant ke fut mescreant
 Ne sout de dieu tant ne kant
 Mult li peysa ke la pucele 15
 Ke tant fut bone e si bele
 La ley de paens out guerpie
 Kar il la voleit aver amye
 Dunt il la prit e la myse
 O une matrone ke lad aprise 20
 Kele lessat cel enprise
 E se affeitait a la iustise
 Cele matrone affrodosie
 O li out la compaynie
 De neif files deshonestes 25
 Sembles a li tresordes bestes
 Cestes mistrent lur pouer
 La seinte pucele besturner
 La matrone a un certeyn iour
 A *quintian* fit un tour 30
 E a li dit en tele manere
 La pere dure de plus legere
 Enmoller puse ke son quer
 E fer e ploum plus tost changer
 Ke son purpos remuer 35
Quintian kant oyt ceo dire
 Le corage out esmeu de ire
 La fit mander hastivement
 Si la dit irremment

Damoysele sanz resoune [106r,
 col. 1]
 Me distes vostre condicioune
 Ele respondit benignement
 Sir ne mye soulement
 Su ieo venu de franche gent
 Meis tut mon lyn port testmoy-
 nage 45
 Ke ieo su venu de hault lynage
 E *quintian* a ceo resound
 Si vos parenz nobles sount
 Pur quey dunc par amours
 Serve apparez en vos mours 50
 La pucele dit serve suy
 A mon segnour dulce ihesu
 Ki en tere vynt pur moy servir
 Sa serve su ne voil dedir
 Kant de ihesu out parlee 55
 E baudement de li prechee
 Apres sa predicacion
 Comande fut a la prison
 Meis unkes *homme* plus ioyouse-
 ment
 A feste ala pur vere la gent 60
 Cum ele fit a la prison
 Tant out vers dieu devocion
 Lendemeyn fut presentee
 E a *quintian* remenee
 Ki devant li fit lever 65
 Un engin pur cele pener
 E kant ele fut en ceo tourment
 Agace dit oyant la gent
 Si cum celi ke ad trove
 Son desir loung desire 70
 Se delite en ceo travail
 Ansi est de moy sanz fail
 En ceste peyne corporele
 Unke ioye ne trovey tele
 Ke sicum furment nest poynt
 resceu 75

En gerner pur estre teneu Si batu ne seit e ventee Ausi est pur veritee De cele alme ke ieo porte De glorie ne entra point la porte 80 Si mon cors ne seit penee Par quey lalme ert glorifie [106r, col. 2]		En la prison apparceu fut Ke les gardeyns de la prison Pur pour se muscent en tapison [106v, col. 1]	
Quintian ad comande Ke seinte agace seit bufetee E ke lem la fit turment 85 En les mameles longment E apres long tourmenter Les mameles del cors trencher Coment tyrant cruel e feer Poez dit ele trover en quer 90 Tant reviler la nature Dunt as resceu ta nuture Tut ay ieo perdu mes mameles Autres ay que sunt plus beles Fey e esperance en ihesu crist 95 Cels deus unt nurri mon esprit Quintian fut coruscee E en la prison lad liveree E comanda ke la virgine Neust sustenance ne medicine 100 Lors se mustre en la prison Ke tute alumina la meson Une lumere cele nute Par un enfant ki apparut Apres lenfant vynt un homme 105 O medicines a grant somme Jeo su dit il cea venu Pur aleger vostre enu ¹ Vus reoverez bien e bel Par medicine vostre mamel 110 Unke dit ele de homme mortel Prenderey medicine corporel Jeo ay ihesu mon sauveur De soule parole put fere socur Le veuz homme dunc suzrit 115 A seinte agace respondit Jeo su le apostle ihesu crist Il vus enveit santée parfit Li homme dunc desaparut E pleyne sante ele resceut 120 E tant de lumere cele nut		Le quart iour apres suant 125 La fit mander li tyrant Si la dit kele lessat Sa folie e se tournat Croyez fit il en iovis Nostre dieu si serrez vifs 130 Autel dit ele fusez vus Cum est iovis vostre dieus De ceo fut quintian mult greve Pur quey dit ele vus coruscez Ou vostre dieu est honorable 135 Ou sa value nest fors fable Si il est trove honorable E vus fussez a li semblable En tant vus dy grant honour Ke fussez semblable a tel segnur 140 E si vus troverez iovis fable Ke a nul homme est profitable A ma reson bien assentez Ke rien ne vault de estre amez Lessez dit il tele afere 145 Ou peyne e dolum vus frount tere Jeo ne ay pour dit agace Ne de peyne ne de manace Si vus me gettez a lyouns Il ne me frount si bien noun 150 Si vus me facez mettre al feu Les angels serrunt tost al leu Pur mey refreider en cele peyne Par dulce rosee celestiene Lors quintian debrisa 155 Poz de tere ke esparpila En meneu peces par my le fu E prist agace le cors tut neu E la veutra amount e aval Meis ele ne sentit poynt de mal 160 Lors fit dieus pur seinte agace Ke terremut en cele place Abatit partie de les murs E occit dels granz sengnours Fulcon e silvan 165 Les conseylers quintian [106v, col. 2]	

1. The manuscript has "anu;" a small e is written over a, and a is erased.

E quintian sen est alec
A seinte agace enprisonnee

Seinte agace en la prison		Une table de marbre mist	
Se mit a genulz en oreyson	170	A son cheif ou fut escrit	190
Leva ses meynes a dieu e dit		Treys paroles en latin dit	
Jeo <i>vus</i> mercy dulce ihesu crist		Grant matere en leu petit	
Par ki mon cors est sauve		Nette corage a dieu honour	
De vileyne ordure trop usee		Deliverance a genz socour	
Par ki ayde ieo ay venkeu	175	Nette corage ele out en li	195
Peyne e turment de fer e feu		A dieu honour avynt de li	
Ore est tens si <i>vus</i> plect		E socour al pais vendra par li	
Ke del secle ou peril est		Les treis paroles entendez ci	
Me prengnez a <i>vus</i> cher		Kant unt chevi lenterrement	
sengnour		Les enfanz sodeyenment	200
A la ioye ke tuz iours dur	180	Vunt lur veye ne mes sunt veu	
Kant la pucele out ceo dit		En cel pays ne coneu	
A dieu rendit le esprit		Ore pri ieo seinte agace	
Devant le puple la present		Ke en ceste vie <i>nus</i> purchace	
Ke lount enterre noblement		De nos pechez remission	205
Le iour ke fut enterre	185	E a nostre fin sauvacion. amen. ²	
Un enfant se est mustre			
Aourne mult estrangement			
O li enfant plus ke cent			

2. The final "n" of "amen" is capitalized for the sake of decoration.

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ITEMS OF INTEREST

Under the direction of Fr. Marcelino de Castellvi, O. F. M. Cap., Sibundy, Columbia, the Centro de Investigaciones Linguisticas y Ethnograficas de la Amazonia Columbiana now has 30,000 entries in its bibliography on subjects related to languages and ethnography (*Pan American Bookshelf*, December, 1943, p. vii).

According to the *Denver Register*, January 23, 1944, p. 4, a Literary Contest has been announced by Most Rev. Fernando Cento, Papal Nuncio to Peru. The subject of the contest is "St. Francis of Assisi, Universal Patron of Catholic Action." The contest is open to writers of any nationality, but must be written in Spanish. The manuscript must be approximately 100 pages in length, and all entries must be sent to the Papal Nunciature in Lima, Peru. The first prize will be 500 soles, and 300 copies of the first edition, the second prize consists of 500 soles.

A series of 21 Liberty Ships will be named for the 21 Old Missions of California, founded by Fr. Junipero Serra and his fellow missionaries (*Catholic Mission Digest*, January, 1944, p. 30).

According to the *Catholic Historical Review* (January, 1944, p. 585), Father Francis Borgia Steck, O. F. M., associate professor of Hispanic American History at the Catholic University of America, was recently elected a Corresponding Member of the Hispanic Society of America. He is also associated with the recently founded Centro de Estudios Historicos Franciscanos of Mexico City, as well as the Academy of American Franciscan History.

According to the *Information Bulletin* of the Library of Congress (February-March, 1944, p. 9), microfilms of Hispanic American imprints made from originals in the Medina Collection in the Biblioteca Nacional de San-

tiago de Chile, are now being catalogued. Five reels are processed ready for use, and many more will be available soon.

The Rockefeller Foundation through a five-year grant has helped North Carolina, Tulane, and Duke Universities to build up large Latin American collections. Each of these universities will specialize in a definite portion of the field (*Inter-American Bibliographical Review*, Winter, 1943-1944, p. 230).

The third number of *Notes Hispanic*, an annual publication, has just appeared.

Although no funds are available at present for its publication, a Bibliography of Philosophy, 1902-1932, now existing in card-index form at Columbia University, is available to scholars needing bibliographical information relating to that period. Requests for information may be addressed to Mr. Emerson Buchanan, Department of Philosophy, Columbia University, New York.

The May, 1944, issue of *The Modern Schoolman* carried an announcement of interest to philosophers: a supplement to the *Bibliographie Thomiste*, by Mandonnet and Destrez, will soon appear. It is the work of Dr. Vernon J. Bourke, Associate Professor of Philosophy at St. Louis University, and will comprise a complete analytical list of the important publications in the field of Thomistic studies, 1920-1940.

"List of photographic reproductions of medieval manuscripts in the Library of the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies," enumerates the authors included in this valuable collection. Many authors of the Order of Friars Minor are included (*Mediaeval Studies*, V (1943), 51-74).

"Decretum de virtutibus pro beatificatione Ven. Servi Dei Innocentii a Bertio, Sacerdotis professi Ordinis Minorum Capuccinorum," dated March 21, 1943, appears in the *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, XXXV (Jan. 20, 1944), 285-288.

The current number of *Provincial Annals* (Santa Barbara), VI (January, 1944), 24-28, has an article by Fr. Eric O'Brien, O. F. M., which is devoted to the Cause of Junipero Serra, the Serra Research done during the year 1943, as well as a resumé of some 53 archives and libraries consulted for Serra documents and materials.

A Franciscan, Fr. Adrian Malo, O. F. M., presided at the first meeting of the newly organized Catholic Association for Biblical Studies for Canada, held in Montreal, January, 1944. Among the first activities proposed is a translation of the Gospels. Fr. Leandre Poirier, O. F. M., is a member of the committee for revision.

A number of Franciscans took part in a Marian Congress (the third), held September 6-11, 1943, in Madrid. One of the topics treated was "Co-redemption in the Light of Scotistic Christology," by José de Uribealago, O. F. M. Another topic was "The Mediation of Mary in the Works of Blessed Raymond Lull."

It is interesting to note that Fr. Aurelius Borkowski, O. F. M., of the Commissariat of the Holy Land in Washington, D. C., now in Palestine, is the author of a chronological story of the Gospels in Polish. This was issued by the Franciscan Press of Jerusalem for Polish exiles.

The *Catholic News* of April 1, 1944, p. 12, carries the story of the work of Bishop Massi, O. F. M. In 1921 he founded a community of native Chinese Sisters.

The December, 1943, issue of *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, issued by the N.C.W.C., April 20, 1944, contains the text of the *Tuto* Declaration, *Magni Regis Nuntius*, for the beatification of the Franciscan martyrs of Hunan Province, China.

The Third Franciscan Educational Conference of Lectors of Spain was held in Madrid, October 7-13, 1943, as reported in *Archivo Ibero-Americana*, III (Oct.-Dic., 1943), 606.

The March, 1944, issue of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* (LV, 97-98) carries a biographical note on Most Rev. Paschal Robinson, O. F. M., Archbishop of Tyana and Papal Nuncio to Ireland, and a photo of him as frontispiece.

According to the *Catholic Historical Review* for January, 1944 (p. 581), "The Memorial on New Mexico" by Fray Alonso Benavides, translated by G. P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, will be published shortly.

The St. Bernardine College *Chronicle*, Buckingham, England, carries a frontispiece of St. Bernardine of Siena, reproduced from the famous *Sforza Book of Hours*. A special radio broadcast originating in Buckingham and beamed to Italy marked the fifth centenary celebration in honor of St. Bernardine at Buckingham.

According to Kent Stiles of the *New York Times* (June 18, 1944), special commemorative stamps were to be issued by Eire on June 30 in honor of the tercentenary of the death of the Franciscan lay-brother Michael O'Clery, the chief of the "Four Masters," famous annalists and chroniclers. His three associates were Peregrine O'Clery, Peregrine Duignan, and Ferfessa Mulconry. Their outstanding work, entitled "Annals of the Four Masters," is a complete history of Ireland from the beginning of recorded time to the beginning of the seventeenth century.

An interesting biographical essay on the occasion of the tercentenary celebration in honor of Michael O'Clery was published in Dublin this year by the Assisi press. It is entitled *Michael O'Clery: Nnight Errant of Irish History*, by Victor Sheppard, O. F. M.

A Franciscan Hour is broadcast over the Cali station "Voice of the Valley" in Colombia, S. A., and is under the direction of Fr. Jesus Mary Velasquez, O. F. M.

At the twenty-fourth annual meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, held December, 1943, Fr. Francis Borgia Steck, O. F. M., was elected second vice-president of the society.

A recently published brochure, *Franciscan Chaplains in the Armed Forces of the United States and Canada*, notes the fact that a Franciscan enjoys the dual distinction of having been the first Catholic Army Chaplain and the first accredited military chaplain of any faith to serve the armed forces of this nation.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Documents Relating to Northwest Missions. Edited with notes and an introduction by Grace Lee Nute. (St. Paul, Minn.: Minnesota Historical Society, 1942. Pp. xix+469.)

These documents, published by the Minnesota Historical Society for the Clarence Walworth Alvord Memorial Commission of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, are preceded by a preface written by Solon J. Buck of the National Archives. An explanatory introduction of nine pages describes the background of the material. The documents number 446 — all of them in English translation, some of them also in the original. They are followed by a short glossary of unfamiliar terms. An extensive index of twenty pages closes the book.

The documents portray much of the intimate history connected with the founding of the missions that are now comprised in the archdiocese of St. Boniface, Manitoba, Canada. The events recorded turn principally about Bishop Plessis of Quebec, Bishop Provencher of St. Boniface, Father Dumoulin who was interested in the settlement at Pembina, and Lord Selkirk who was the chief stockholder of the Hudson Bay Company. They also portray the bloody struggle between this company and the North West Company, which came to a close in 1821 by the absorption of the latter company. These documents are valuable for the history of the Church in the United States by reason of their references to conditions in the territory between Detroit and Sault Ste. Marie, as also along the shores of Lake Superior. They touch upon the foundations in the northwestern districts of Minnesota and the northeastern districts of Dakota, through the efforts of Father Dumoulin at Pembina, and some developments as far east as St. Paul. In particular, the documents show the struggle of Bishop Plessis to have the Church fully recognized in Canada. This was largely accomplished by his appointment as Archbishop of Quebec in 1819, though at that time he did not assume the title publicly in deference to British religious prejudice. At the same time Father Provencher was consecrated Bishop and made his auxiliary — to all purposes Vicar Apostolic of the Northwest, although he received this title officially only in 1844, and that of Bishop of St. Boniface three years later.

The comprehensive index of the book is most valuable; yet some might question whether it would not have been advisable to have a calendar of the documents for the benefit of research workers. Catholic matters have been treated with understanding. However, it is not correct to say (p. 338, note) that the high Mass "cost" fifteen shillings and the low Mass five. The editor translates "chapelle" as "chapel." It may have been difficult to find a term that would cover the full meaning, but it would seem that "church plate," or better still "Mass kit," would convey the meaning.

These are minor flaws in a volume that is most valuable to the historian of early America. We can only express the hope that the editor may find the opportunity to have more such documents published, and that in the excellent manner in which these documents were edited. Through such publications we shall gradually arrive at a better understanding of the mission

efforts in Canada and the United States. The editor deserves highest commendation for her excellent work.

THEODORE ROEMER, O. F. M. CAP.

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The Univocity of the Concept of Being in the Philosophy of John Duns Scotus. (A dissertation for the Doctorate in Philosophy submitted to the Catholic University of America.) By Cyril L. Shircel, O. F. M. (Washington, D. C., 1942.)

The author sets himself the task of presenting a historical solution of one of the fundamental problems in the philosophy of Duns Scotus, his doctrine on the univocity of the concept of being. To add perspective to the exposition, a comparative study of St. Thomas supplies the corresponding doctrinal positions of the Angelic Doctor.

An introductory chapter treats of analogy and predication in their various modes. The author then considers the nature and character of univocity for the logician. This leads to an inquiry into the object of the intellect and the nature of being as the object of the intellect. Here it becomes apparent that a fundamental difference in their views concerning the nature of the object of the intellect underlies the differing theories of Duns Scotus and St. Thomas, causing one to consider being univocal and the other to pronounce in favor of its analogy. There follows an inquiry into the nature of conceptual univocity for the metaphysician and a study of the relation of univocal and categorical predication, and of the contraction of being to God and the creature. A final chapter sums up the conclusions reached, and presents a brief comparative synthesis of the thought of St. Thomas and Duns Scotus.

The author shows how the nature of being as the object of thought underlies the differences between Duns Scotus and St. Thomas. The Angelic Doctor maintained that the human intellect can understand nothing without the aid of the phantasm, and that in consequence the quiddity of material things only is the proper and natural object of the human intellect. Hence our notion of being is purely abstractive. Scotus on the other hand holds that in addition to this abstractive mode, we possess another mode of intellectual knowledge, namely intuition. Abstractive cognition prescind from existence; whereas in our intuitive cognition we behold the object directly as existing being: we perceive it in its existence. In other words, being as such (*in se*), not merely abstractive being, is the primary, natural, and adequate object of the human intellect. The implications of these differing views are apparent. The being of St. Thomas as the exclusive product of abstraction from material things can be applied only improperly and analogously to the realm of spiritual things; whereas the being of Duns Scotus is not restricted in its proper signification to the material realm, but is co-extensive with the realm of existing being, both material and immaterial, and thus applies properly and univocally also to spiritual beings such as God, the soul, etc. Being as the adequate object of the intellect implies univocity of being.

In point of fact, when St. Thomas and Duns Scotus speak of being, its character and nature, they are not speaking of the same thing. The being of St. Thomas is knowable only mediately by means of abstraction from the phantasm. The being of Scotus is knowable also intuitively, hence is wider in extension, including the total existential realm of being, material and immaterial. And so when St. Thomas maintains that his notion of being is analogous, this was his only possible logical conclusion. And when Scotus maintained that his notion of being is univocal, this was his only possible logical conclusion. Both views are not merely random positions, but organic details within their respective general doctrinal systems.

The concept of being plays a central role in the philosophical system of Duns Scotus. Being as the primary, natural, and adequate object of the mind is exhaustively analyzed by him, and made one of the keystones of his system. Thus his arguments for the existence of God are based upon the order of being, and his philosophical explanation of the Beatific Vision, his theory of knowledge, etc., are but indications of this emphasis. It is also the foundation of his doctrine of univocal being.

The author has done constructive work in searching the tomes of Scotus and collecting with great care all the passages referring to his theme. He deserves recognition also for consulting the early representative commentators. Modern literature is not considered in detail, since the author wished to base his study upon the original texts.

This volume is one more proof of the ever-growing revival of interest in Duns Scotus, as well as a contribution toward the clarification and rehabilitation of the Subtle Doctor.

BERARD VOGT, O. F. M.

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The Problem of Divine Anger in Arnobius and Lactantius (The Catholic University of America Studies in Christian Antiquity, edited by Johannes Quasten, No. 4). By Ermin F. Micka, O. F. M. (Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1943. Pp. xxii+187.)

Christianity did not enter the world as a philosophical system but as a religious message — an *Evangelium*. Though it was not directly concerned with the wisdom of the world represented by Greek thought, it was, nevertheless, humanly speaking, impossible for it to avoid contact with philosophy. It is an historical fact that the first meetings between Christian preaching and philosophical teaching resulted in hostile separation and mutual condemnation, because of the concrete historical situation. It took some hundred years before learned people, who had enjoyed before their conversion an education in Greek wisdom, undertook the positive task to reconcile most of their former convictions with revealed truth. This was done by the early apologists, and thus from their work was born Christian theology and philosophy.

It is obvious that the first attempts in this direction could not always be a complete success. Christian tradition was not yet fixed in clearly defined dogmas; hence the individual writer was left to his more or less sound Christian feeling to find his way to a deeper understanding of Revelation

among apparently conflicting texts of Holy Writ and the words of living tradition. Difficulties and failures of this kind are presented in the dissertation of Fr. Ermin Micka, who has studied the problem of divine anger in Arnobius and Lactantius, of whom the latter was the pupil of the former. Both came from paganism to Christianity, both were educated in contemporary philosophy, and both attempted in their writings an apology of the Christian religion.

The author presents first in short outlines the historical background of the problem of divine anger, dealing mainly with the problem in the philosophies of the Epicureans and Stoics, who were the teachers of both Arnobius and Lactantius, and in Holy Scripture and the work of Marcion. After this he studies the problem first in Arnobius and then in Lactantius; and finally he evaluates the doctrine of the two writers of the Church in a comparative study.

Both Arnobius and Lactantius perceived the difficulties which we mention, but it seems that Arnobius suffered from them more than his pupil — mainly, as it seems, because he had only a poor formation in Christianity when he wrote his *Adversus Nationes*. Lactantius was more fortunate, and is regarded by the author, and justly so, as more in accord with genuine Christian teachings.

We have, however, the impression that Arnobius is presented in too dark a light in this study. The author calls attention to the central idea of the "aloofness" of God, which plays a major part in the thought of Arnobius, who may have been influenced by the Epicurean idea of God as remote from all human affairs. On the other hand, the idea of the "aloofness" of God in regard to our knowledge of Him, is a common topic of all the Fathers, Greek and Latin, since they all stress the inadequacy of human notions applied to God. The Greek source for this idea, if we need one, could be Plato as well. With this idea of the immense distance of God from any creature, Arnobius contrasts the extreme state of lowliness of human beings; and here, as it appears to us, Arnobius is at his poorest and is greatly inferior to Lactantius whose views on human nature are more in line with Christian tradition.

According to the author, the idea of the "aloofness" of God, which is interpreted almost as an Epicurean Deism, and the idea of the extreme lowliness of human beings, lead Arnobius logically to a denial of divine anger. To us, however, it appears quite correct that Arnobius denied anger in God, whether or not he was influenced in this by Epicureanism. For Arnobius understands anger as a passion of revenge, and it is good theology to deny that there is such anger in God; and, in fact, it is commonly done (cf., for instance, St. Bonaventure, I Sent., d. 45, dub. 10; ed. Quar., t. 1, p. 814: "Tamen quia ira habet passionem coniunctam de ratione sui nominis, ideo non recipitur in Deo nec irascibilis, nec ira, nisi transsumptive et sermone tropico"). The author, too, is forced to admit this, though he does not follow such an interpretation to its logical and sound consequences. For there is one fact, which *a priori* eliminates any deistic interpretation of Arnobius' idea of the "aloofness" of God, and that is the doctrine which he clearly states: that God rewards Christians with immortality, and punishes the infidels, even after physical death, with horrible tortures and a final death of their souls. The author is aware of this and gives a good interpretation

of this fact on pp. 169 *et seq.*: "Anger must be understood to exist in God *improprie et metaphorice*." But the author unfortunately does not apply this sound explanation on page 171, footnote 32, which is not quite intelligible to us. For he writes: "It is true, Arnobius denies this debased form of anger in God. But he is denying this form of anger, not because it is *debased*, but because it is *anger*. For him there was only one kind of anger, and that was vicious by its very nature. So by denying it to God, he was denying, as far as he was concerned, *all* divine anger. That he admitted punishment of sinners after death was not considered by him to be an admission of anger in God. It is merely another instance of his attempt to fit his pagan background into his poor grasp of Christian truth." We hardly believe that by such reasoning the author could convince his opponents in the interpretation of Arnobius.

It appears that Fr. Ermin fails to make the necessary distinctions of terms, which would easily bring into agreement most of the conflicting texts in Arnobius' writings. And it seems that the difference between Arnobius and Lactantius — the latter maintained anger in God — is a question of mere terminology. If Lactantius defines anger as "a motion of the soul rousing itself to curb sins" (p. 129), he has a different notion from that used by Arnobius, hence what the one denies is not affirmed by the other.

We make these remarks in order to recall the golden rule of interpretation, namely: "Understand an author, if possible, better than he understood himself"; or as Scotus has put it: "Ex dictis eorum volo rationabiliorem intellectum accipere quem possum" (Ox. I, d. 8, q. 5, n. 8).

This criticism does not imply that we are not aware of the merits of this work. The scheme and analysis of texts in this dissertation are of high quality. A very extensive bibliography and indices enhance its value. Together with the other volumes of this series: Alfred C. Rush, C. Ss. R., *Death and Burial in Christian Antiquity* (1941); Francis J. Reine, *The Eucharistic Doctrine and Liturgy of the Mystagogical Catecheses of Theodore of Mopsuestia* (1942); Emil Schneweis, O. F. M. Cap., *Angels and Demons according to Lactantius*; and the excellent study by Joseph C. Plumpe, *Mater Ecclesia*, an inquiry into the concept of the Church as Mother in early Christianity, Fr. Ermin's work constitutes a valuable and even indispensable addition to our theological libraries.

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My Father's Will. By Francis J. McGarrigle, S. J., Ph. D. (Milwaukee, Wis.: The Bruce Publishing Co. 1944. Pp. v+323. \$2.75.)

The fact that this work has been accepted among the outstanding books that go to make up the "Religion and Culture Series, will perhaps suffice to recommend it as something above the ordinary. Perusing the volume one will readily understand why. The subject matter in itself is of universal and perennial interest and of capital importance to the spiritual life of every Christian soul. The treatment is solidly scientific and literary. The

author is well qualified both by training and wide experience to handle such a topic in a competent way.

Father McGarrigle sets out to show that the secret of all sanctity and perfection is to be found in reverent accomplishment of God's will in every respect. The highest goal of all human endeavor is God's will expressed in the obligation of all, without exception, to achieve personal sanctity in this life. There is no other purpose to life. Both God's glory and man's best interest are crystallized in the divine injunction enunciated by St. Paul: "this is the will of God, your sanctification." The author writes: "All are expected to be holy; man was created for this alone. Hence, all lives, no matter how they may be circumstanced, are the right lives in which to attain holiness, for all lives are the means of carrying out the divine Will."

He proceeds to establish his argument by dividing his thesis into five parts. In the first part he explains the meaning of God's will as the only end of our lives, and the perfect fulfilment of this will as the means toward this end. In the second and third parts he exposes the union that results between the will of God and the will of man, accordingly as man co-operates with God actively or passively. Since obedience is the expression of all conformity or uniformity of the human will with the divine, the fourth part deals with this characteristically Ignatian virtue. The fifth part shows the way in which final achievement is attained.

The author covers a wide field in the theology of the spiritual life, and in the practical helps or difficulties the soul experiences in working out its sanctification. He draws richly on the pagan and Christian lore of all centuries to illustrate and substantiate his arguments. The reader is struck with the surprising aptness of the quotations from pagan sources especially. Of course, the book is written for the educated and the cultured. Priests, religious, and the better educated among the laity will find in it an appeal to deep thinking. For this reason it does not make for easy and simple reading. However, the results will repay the efforts made to follow the author from depths to heights as he leads his readers on. Retreat masters, spiritual directors, and those personally interested in a deeper knowledge of spirituality, will find an abundance of illumination and inspiration in the pages of this solid treatise.

My Father's Will is a book that will not be read for mere amusement and then laid aside. It will take its place among those works of reference and stimulation which will be of constant assistance to those who want to learn or to teach true holiness.

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Apostles of the Front Lines. By Louis J. Putz, C. S. C. (South Bend, Ind.: The Apostolate Press. Pp. 99.)

Catholic Action. Pastoral Letter of the Most Reverend Joseph Charbonneau, Archbishop of Montreal. (South Bend, Ind.: The Apostolate Press. Pp. 69.)

One often hears the sad comment that Catholic Action is unknown in our country. There is a great deal of truth in the assertion, a truth which becomes the more evident when we compare the marvelous achievements of Catholic Action in some countries of Europe with what has been done here in our own land. Many interesting attempts are being made at present to adapt specialized movements of Catholic Action for this country, and, to date, their work has proved very valuable.

But the question that comes to the fore is why Catholic Action has not fared so well in our midst. For one thing it may be due to the fact that while France, Belgium, and Canada had access to very fine textbooks on the theory and the practice of Catholic Action, we in this country had an agglomeration of books whose purpose was to prove that almost any Catholic endeavor was Catholic Action. The result was bound to bring about useless and harsh verbal conflicts, confusing the term Catholic Action the more. It is true that the term has a broader meaning that may include any religious act performed by a Catholic; but since it is the express desire, not to say command, of the Pope that we use the term Catholic Action only in its specific meaning, that should be our usage.

The two little books *Apostles of the Front Lines* and *Catholic Action* will be of great help in getting our terminology straight and in organizing groups of Catholic Action.

Apostles of the Front Lines deals with the philosophy of the specialized movements of Catholic Action. It is based upon Canon Tiberghien's famous French book *Pour Servir*. In presenting it to the English-speaking world, Father Putz has found it necessary to adapt rather than translate. This was a wise decision because a specialized movement may be very successful in one country and prove unworkable in another.

In future editions, however, it might be well to include more texts from the Popes and to cite sources. Even without such additions, however, this booklet will be of great value to all who wish to know more about Catholic Action. After reading it, they will retain it as their "Vade Mecum" on Catholic Action.

The pastoral letter, Catholic Action, was issued in June, 1941, and was addressed to the clergy, the religious communities and all the faithful of the diocese of Montreal. Its purpose was primarily to issue the official mandate to some specialized movements already in existence. It gives them special directives and plans their orientation. At the same time, it is an inspiring plea for all to cooperate in the great apostolate so necessary "to bring back to Christ these whole classes of men who have denied Him" (Pius XI). The original letter was written in French; the present English translation was made by a group of interested Catholic laymen of the Cleveland diocese.

In the introduction, Archbishop Charbonneau declares that Catholic Action appears to be "necessary and more efficacious than all other modes of action" because "of all forms of Church apostolate, it most conforms to the needs of the times" (Pius XI). He expresses his desire to continue the outstanding work of his predecessor in the field of Catholic Action, and in order to assure the continuance of the great work, he wishes to recall to mind some general principles governing Catholic Action and clearly to mark the regulations of its concrete organization in the diocese.

This pastoral letter is, without doubt, one of the outstanding documents on the subject of specialized Catholic Action. Throughout his letter, the Archbishop has succeeded in weaving into his text, eighty-two citations from Encyclicals and other papal documents. The practical tone maintained throughout denotes not only assurance and determination on the part of His Excellency, but also a firm conviction that the papal pronouncements on the subject of Catholic Action are wise and workable. They are definitely not mere theoretical conjectures, but the results of keen observation of Catholic Action in action.

This little book is indispensable to Catholic Action students. Those who have doubts whether Catholic Action can succeed in this country, should read this letter. They should remember that specialized Catholic Action made a modest beginning in the diocese of Montreal in May, 1941, and since then has developed beyond all expectations.

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Editor's Note: It will not be out of place to add that the Franciscan Minister Provincial of Canada, on February 4, 1944, issued a letter concerning Catholic Action to the members of the Third Order Secular of St. Francis in the archdiocese of Montreal, where the Third Order has been declared an auxiliary of Catholic Action. It contains four regulations for "collaboration" and as many for "coordination," to all of which the Archbishop of Montreal has agreed. The letter in question was published in *La Revue Franciscaine*, March, 1944, p. 97.

Marco Polo's Precursors. By Leonardo Olschki. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1943. Pp. ix+100, with a map of Asia. \$1.50.)

This little book is a condensation of a course of lectures delivered at Johns Hopkins University in 1939-1940. It is not a narrative of the epoch-making overland journeys across Asia made by the first European travelers to the Far East, but "the critical interpretation of a human experience comparable only to the discovery of America . . . , a description of the intellectual conquest of Asia." To interpret events is always more difficult than to narrate them. The interpretation is always colored by the interpreter's attitude toward religion and his philosophy of life. To a Catholic, or for that matter to any convinced Christian, an interpretation which is not made from a Christian viewpoint cannot be acceptable. A Christian can no more take a neutral attitude toward pagan religions than the mathematician can be indifferent to whether two and two make four or not. The author seems to have adopted a neutral attitude toward monotheism and polytheism, Christianity and paganism; and he apparently regards the syncretism of the Mongols as superior to the Christianity of medieval Europe, because the former was characterized by "religious tolerance." The term "tolerance" is often misapplied and misunderstood; it is not synonymous with indifference to right and wrong. Monotheistic religions are not "essentially intolerant . . . and fanatical" (p. 26). A Catholic who condemns the religion of a pagan or a heretic, can at the same time recognize the fact that the latter is or may be in good faith.

The aversion of the Franciscan friars who blazed the way to the Far East, to the pagan and immoral practices of the Tatars (this spelling is more correct than Tartars) does not imply that they were prejudiced or unfriendly to these people or that they misunderstood "things of a spiritual and religious nature" pertaining to them (pp. 43, 44, 64). The fact that they denounced the vices and superstition of the Nestorians, does not mean that they were not speaking the truth (p. 29). Theological discussions with persons of a different faith, particularly in the case of Catholic missionaries who make it their task to convince their opponents of their errors if they consent to listen to them, are not "mostly idle and always unpleasant disputes" (p. 25).

It is not fair to Brother Bartholomew to say that he did not have the "heart to undertake the return journey" (p. 55), when it was sickness that prevented his return. After mentioning that the two friars who were sent with the Polos turned back (because they thought it useless to continue their journey at that time) and that young Marco was the only one presented to Kublai Khan in place of the hundred doctors for whom he had asked (p. 94), it would have been well to indicate at least that subsequently Father John of Montecorvino went to China and stayed in China as a successful missionary and that he was followed by numerous other Franciscan friars. That would have conveyed a better idea of developments. Montecorvino went to Khanbaliq (Peking) at the same time that Marco Polo was returning to Europe. Nor is it correct to say that Columbus' "caravels did not carry priests or missionaries in the first attempt" (p. 94); on his first voyage Columbus was accompanied by the secular priest, Pedro de Arenas, as is proved by the latter's journal which was discovered in the latter part of the last century (cf. *Boletín de la Academia de la Historia*, XVIII [Madrid, 1891], 551-554).

For the most part, however, the author gives due recognition to the Franciscan friars, particularly Father John of Piano Carpine and Father William Rubruk, who were the first to open communication between the Orient and the Occident. He shows how the journeys and journals of these pioneer travelers in great measure corrected the false views which the people of Europe had till then of the Asiatic continent and its peoples. He is well acquainted with the source material and literature on these important historical characters and journeys. Those who are familiar with the story will find themselves well repaid by a careful perusal of *Marco Polo's Precursors*.

MARION A. HABIG, O. F. M.

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New York City.*

De Praesentia Reali et Transsubstantiatione Eucharistica in Traditione Africana post Augustinum (Dissertatio: Pontificium Athenaeum Antonianum). By George Mosquera, O. F. M. (Empresa Editora "El Comercio," Quito in Aequatore, 1943. Pp. 53.)

This dissertation is a brief, but quite exhaustive, study of the limited material at the disposal of the author. Its importance lies in the fact that

it treats of the doctrine on the Eucharist in that section of Patristic literature which is usually passed over in silence. The period embraced in this study extends from the death of St. Augustine (430) to the invasion of Africa by the Saracens at the end of the seventh century. As sources of his work, the author cites ten African writers, among them St. Quodvultdeus of Carthage (d. about 453) and Fulgentius of Ruspe (d. 532). Added to their writings are two anonymous discourses of probable African origin.

The subject matter of the dissertation is distributed over three chapters. In the first chapter the author gives the teaching of the African Church concerning the consecration and various related subjects. Interesting in this chapter are the references to the names of the Eucharist and to the Epiclesis; the word *Missa* is used, but only in its original meaning of any liturgical function. Though an invocation of the Holy Ghost is mentioned, it should be understood, not in the sense of an Oriental Epiclesis, but rather as a prayer for the sanctification of the faithful through the Eucharist. The second chapter discusses the teaching of the African Church regarding the effects of consecration, the Real Presence, and Transubstantiation. While the post-Augustinian authors do not directly explain either mystery, they without doubt suppose their existence. In the third chapter the author gives the reasons for the probability of the African origin of the aforementioned anonymous discourses, and points out that their use of the terms *convertere* and *transmigrare* shows a closer approach to the idea of transubstantiation.

The author has handled his subject well, and is to be congratulated for his contribution to a knowledge of those Patristic writings to which little attention is generally given.

DAVID BAIER, O. F. M.

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A Basic History of the United States. By Charles A. and Mary R. Beard.
(New York: The New Home Library. Pp. xxviii+508. \$0.69.)

This survey marks the close of the Beards' efforts to interpret the course of American history. Based as it is on some forty years of study and research into American history, the work, on the whole, succeeds admirably in its analysis. To compress so much of our history in one volume is something of an accomplishment in itself; for the book is far more than an ordinary summary or outline.

In detail, however, the result is not always so happy. The application of the beatitude "Blessed are the meek . . ." to the English crown is hardly well taken; for the English crown was aggressive enough when its interest was roused and its strength permitted it to be. The quotation from Jonathan Boucher (p. 52) is rather ambiguous: for as the quotation stands without explanation, it might be taken in the good sense as a statement of the Christian duty of a citizen. In seeking an extreme regalist statement, the authors might rather easily have found something better. Deism certainly rejected "the Hebraic and Miltonic interpretation of the cosmos," but it just as certainly cannot be credited with "substituting . . . the universal God of all mankind" (p. 63). It seems rather doubtful that the utilitarian ideas derived

from the Enlightenment had as great an influence as the authors attribute to them.

There are a number of statements of fact which might be criticized as inexact, but it would be captious to take exception to them in a volume which must survey so broad a field. One notable and surprising omission is the absence of all reference to the history of bigotry in this country; and nativism receives only one inadequate reference. This is the more surprising in view of the fact that the authors seem to be eminently fair in their presentation of questions affecting religion or nationality. The space given to the history of labor unions of the pre-Civil War period could easily have included some statement of the internal, and a better statement of the external, difficulties of the unions. To omit this last seems to overemphasize the importance of the movement within this period. The aims of the Grangers are vaguely mentioned in a general survey, but the organization itself and its work during the seventies is completely overlooked. Theodore Roosevelt's "Corollary" to the Monroe Doctrine is not necessarily solely imperialistic; in view of the history of the Caribbean and the defensive needs of the Canal, it seems rather a logical if not necessary step.

With these reservations, the book can be recommended as an excellent comprehensive survey of our history. The text is illustrated with some twenty-three clear and adequate maps; and the surprisingly cheap price should insure the book a wide circulation.

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Twenty-sixth Annual Meeting of the Franciscan Educational Conference, Burlington, Wis., June 26-28, 1944

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ST. BERNARDINE OF SIENA, A MODEL PREACHER

IN THE year 1407, the illustrious Dominican, Vincent Ferrer, had come to the city of Alessandria in northern Italy. This noted preacher had evangelized his native Spain and the greater part of France and England: he now turned to Italy, there to introduce a zealous religious of twenty-seven to the Catholic world. A Franciscan, having heard the fame of the great Dominican preacher, had asked his superiors for permission to attend his course of sermons; known to all, the friar mingled with the people in the crowded church. In the middle of his sermon, the Dominican stopped; and, as if illumined by heaven, he made this prophecy:

Know, my dear people, that in this audience there is a religious of the Order of Friars Minor, who is destined to be a renowned man in all Italy. His sermons, his doctrine and his example shall produce abundant fruit among the Christian people. He is still young, while I am advanced in years; nevertheless, he shall receive before me the honors of the Church. Let us all pray to the Lord that He deign to bring about for the advantage of the Christian people what He has revealed to me. What I have announced to you shall soon come about; hence I shall return to evangelize France and Spain, leaving to this man the office of instructing the people of Italy who have not heard my voice.¹

This marvelous prophecy was soon to find its fulfilment in the work and the life of Bernardine of Siena, the great Apostle of Italy at the dawn of the Renaissance.

PREPARATION FOR THE MINISTRY

God had gradually prepared this man of destiny. Bernardine was born of rich and noble parents, but at the age of six he was left an orphan. His austere training under his aunt Tobia was a preparation for the deep spirituality which activated his life; and his aunt Bartolomea inspired him with his love for the Holy Name of Jesus, which became the contemplative power in his life. These holy women left their nephew a patrimony of intelligence and burning faith. Lover of the Virgin, he had adopted Mary as his mother, consecrating his whole life to her. As a young man, he tried to understand human nature: he saw it at the University, he saw it on the streets of Siena. We cannot doubt that he acquired direct knowledge of the terrible strifes going on among the people when he saw the wounded partisans brought to La Madonna della Scala Hospital, where he helped the poor in their illnesses. We may well imagine that his tender soul rebelled at this pitiful condition of his fatherland, and that then and there he resolved to bring peace to the warring factions. He wanted to work and labor, not for any earthly recompense, but for the peace and happiness and spiritual joy of his fellow men. The Lord showed him that this could best be done in an order, preferably a religious order that gave itself wholly to humanity and embraced all people and lifted them to the higher things of life.

1. M. R. P. Leone, O. F. M., *L'Aureola Serafica, Vite dei Santi e Beati dei Tre Ordini di S. Francesco* (Tip. del Collegio di S. Bonaventura, Quaracchi, 1898), II, 282. St. Bernardine was canonized by Pope Nicholas V on May 15, 1450, while St. Vincent Ferrer was canonized by Pope Pius II on October 7, 1458.

Bernardine became a Franciscan. In asceticism and mysticism, the Poverello became his teacher. At first the road was hard, but soon he took giant steps in his ascent toward God: everything offered him material for profound meditation and study, while he found practical spirituality in the exercise of his office as guardian in the hermitage where he had made his novitiate.

In the meantime his heart was burning with a most ardent desire to save souls. He saw so many starving and perishing for want of spiritual food that he would gladly have given his own life to bring at least one soul to God. In humility and fervent prayer he awaited the designs of the Most High. The commission came when the office of Commissary General of the Observants was entrusted to Father John of Stroncone.² As soon as the Commissary learned of the eminent virtues and the deep learning of Bernardine of Siena, he entrusted to this humble friar the office of preaching. The Saint was at that time only twenty-five years of age.

There was a mighty obstacle impeding him from exercising the office which obedience had imposed upon him: he had a serious impediment in his speech. His voice was very weak and had a stammering sibilant; the material instrument to communicate his thought was lacking. It is said that he tried all human means to overcome these natural defects. He would go into the woods and in a loud voice talk to the trees and the animals about vices and virtues with great fervor. After finding that human means did not help, he asked the friars to pray to the Blessed Virgin for him. In filial prayer he also asked his advocate that if it were the will of God he should preach, she should deign to help him. While he was in ecstasy, a ball of fire came from heaven and alighted on his lips. In the next instant Bernardine felt that the defect had been removed: his voice became strong and powerful, free and sonorous. The Lord had consecrated him for the ministry of His Gospel.³

This miracle was the turning point in the life of Bernardine. He became convinced by it that God had singled him out for the office of preaching. And from that day forward he did not spare himself.

And thus he began to go about into the villages and towns where he preached with such fervor that it was really marvelous to behold. . . . Thus for sixteen years there was not a time that he did not preach two or three times a day, except when he was traveling. . . . And during these sixteen years he did not fail to celebrate Mass every day; neither was he absent from the recitation of the Divine Office in choir or from offering the common prayers, nor did he excuse himself from the office of begging for alms.⁴

That Bernardine was convinced of his divine commission to preach the Word of God, we can gather from the words he addressed to Pope Martin V, in refusing the episcopal dignity of his native Siena:

Holy Father, everyone upon this world has a mission to fulfil. Mine is to announce the Gospel and not to hold the reins of government. God has sent me to preach and not to baptize. Through the inspiration of heaven, I have chosen

2. *Ibid.*, p. 278.

3. Giacomo Oddi di Perugia, *La Franceschina, Testo volgare Umbro del secolo XV; edito per la prima volta nella sua integrità dal P. Nicola Cavanna, O.F.M.* (Olschki, Firenze, 1931), I, 373.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 373.

the poor and humble life of St. Francis, and it will be an immense loss for me if I were to change it for any other, since it is my most ardent wish to persevere in it unto the end.⁵

At another time, Pope Eugene IV called Bernardine into a private audience in order to create him Bishop of Urbino. The Holy Father tried to overcome his humility, but without success. It is said that on this occasion the Pope even placed the miter on the friar's head, which the poor Franciscan quickly took off with the words: "Your Holiness knows well that if I refuse such a great honor, I do so in order to devote myself with greater freedom to the work of saving souls."⁶

THE BEGINNING OF THE RENAISSANCE

In order to understand the contents of the sermons and the oratorical ability of St. Bernardine of Siena, we must not forget the age in which he lived and the times which influenced his apostolate. Bernardine lived at the beginning of the great Renaissance. Previous to his time the people and the scholars had awakened to a sense of naturalism and classicism. Our Holy Father St. Francis had taught men to come to a faint understanding of Uncreated Beauty by the contemplation and appreciation of the beautiful in created things. Giotto in art, and Dante in poetry and prose, had left upon the minds of the people their indelible mark of personal liberty, individual expression, and one's proper inspiration. The liberty-loving Italians, with the grand traditions of ancient Rome as their natural background, were awakened to the idea of their own greatness, and thus the popular cry was: "Back to the lictors!" Individual importance and the sense of liberty brought about the rise of many communal towns and cities having their particular customs, speaking their own dialects, and governed by their native noblemen and dukes.

This new movement was felt most in the realm of literature. The scholars dug out the old dusty tomes, and began to peruse and imitate the ancient masters of Latin and Greek. Dante abandoned Latin poetry and wrote his *Divine Comedy* in the popular tongue. In his masterpiece we feel the whole world living once more; we meet with a Christianized pagan spirit; we find Virgil, *Duce e maestro*, as we start on our journey through the other world. It was inevitable that in their enthusiasm and zeal for the ancient traditions, the early humanists should imbibe some of the pagan spirit and the naturalism of the past. It is a principle of psychology that what we read or see, unless it is curbed by some opposite object, leaves an unconscious impression upon our intellect and on our memory. We must not, then, be surprised that while the humanists in general did not consciously seek after the pagan ideas which they put forth, nevertheless their thought and the underlying current of their work was not in strict accord with the genuine Christian spirit. It was not so much an adoption of unchristian ideas as it was a compromise between the pagan traditions and the spirit of the true Church.

We must not condemn all humanists. Nor can we say that they all walked blindly into the new currents, failing to see the treacherous falls ahead of

5. Leone, *op. cit.*, p. 304.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 305.

them. Many farsighted men continually warned the people and the scholars about this exaggerated naturalism and freedom. We must admit that even our Saint was to an extent influenced by the spirit of the times. He was a Scholastic and a classicist who had frequented the great universities of Italy. He had never descended from the purity of Christian thought, however, nor was he ever infected with the worse features of the new spirit. He learned what his age had to offer; he knew of all the various movements among the classes, which knowledge served him in good stead in his ministry of reconciliation and peace. Thus he was as much at home with the humanists and with the nobles, as he was with the ordinary people.

As a natural consequence of the rebirth of individualism, the spiritual outlook of Italy had suffered a terrible setback in social customs and in morals. Dante compares Italy to a sick man who, not finding rest in his bed, turns from side to side and changes his position in order to relieve his pains. An old writer gives us a very depressing picture of the fair country of Italy at this time:

The land was steeped in vices and crimes. The good exhortations of the masters of the spirit were forgotten. The people were bent on acquiring wealth and pleasures. The religious and the ecclesiastics were without piety; the people were without faith. No good works were performed; there was no modesty, no manners, no good customs. Nothing was heard but blasphemies, hatreds and the envies of the various parties. A person could not travel by land for fear of robbers; nor travel by boat for fear of pirates. The factions of the Guelphs and the Ghibellines were so insistent in their opposition to one another that even brothers thought nothing of spilling their kinsmen's blood. Parents had lost their love for their children. . . . Everything seemed to be returning to paganism. The people were thinking only of the good things of the present life, nothing of divine precepts. Every place was full of enchantments and sorcery, of superstitious practices to know the future, and of magical cures for sicknesses. If anyone dared to reprehend the people for such things, he was derided and scoffed at. Not even on holydays did the people go to church to hear Mass; the holydays could not be distinguished from the work days. Great attention was paid to games; the people were given to laziness. . . .⁷

It was in the midst of this deplorable state of affairs that Bernardine of Siena began his ministry of instruction, peace and reconciliation. He has been rightly called by Bishop Vittorino Facchinetti, O. F. M., "the Mystical Sun of the Fifteenth Century,"⁸ because he was sent by God to pierce the dark clouds at the beginning of the Renaissance and, by showing forth the true light of God, to avert the headlong crash into the pagan abyss of the full Renaissance.

One might think that with this depressing background a young friar would look upon his newly imposed office of preaching as a waste of precious time, and would remain in the monastery in order to concentrate on his own personal sanctification. Not so Bernardine of Siena. He had a definite task before him; he had assumed the grave responsibility of preaching to the world. His zeal for the betterment of his fellow men, and his determination to redeem his age from paganism, overcame all difficulties. He would do

7. Benedetto Mazzara, O. F. M., *Leggendario Franciscano, con aggiunte fatte dal Padre Pietro Antonio di Venezia dello stesso Ordine* (Domenico Lovisa, Venezia, 1722), V, 270 *et seq.*

8. Vittorino Facchinetti, O. F. M., *S. Bernardino da Siena, Mistico Sole del Secolo XV* (Casa Editrice, S. Lega Eucaristica, Milano, 1933).

what little he could, leaving the rest to the vast power of the grace of God. After having received the sign from heaven, he began his ministry of the Word. For many years he was unknown; he preached in the small churches near his convent, and occupied the small pulpits of Tuscany. These were blessed years for the man of God. He had time to observe and study human nature, to perceive the real cancer that was gradually destroying Christian morality. He had time to collect material and file away matter for future use. He had time to write sermons and study the parable-preaching of our Lord, the popular preaching of St. Francis and his companions, and the scripture trellissing of St. Bonaventure. Finally the call came in 1417.

According to some biographers, Bernardine was guardian of the convent at Fiesole, near Florence. In this convent there was a novice of great virtue and holiness. One evening this novice was rapt in ecstasy after the recitation of the Divine Office. When he came out of this celestial coma, the friars heard him exclaim in a loud voice: "Friar Bernardine, do not continue any longer to hide under a bushel the gifts of God; go and announce the Word of God in Lombardy!" On the two following nights, the novice repeated the same words. Then the Saint, who always abided by the least sign from heaven, invited all the religious to pray: he besought the Lord to reveal to him His adorable will. Soon the voice which came from the novice was heard also in Bernardine's soul; and thus he began his apostolate in the provinces of Italy.⁹

How marvelous was the preaching apostolate of this great Franciscan, we can gather from the *Leggendario Franceseano*.

Full of confidence, Bernardine began to pass through the villages and the cities announcing virtues and vices, the glory and the punishments which were to come. The grace of God followed him in an admirable way, so that he was loved, revered, and received by all as a true apostle of Christ. From all sections of the country the people came to hear him. So great were the crowds that people would go early in the morning to take their places in the churches for the devotions. It was frequently necessary to use the public squares to accommodate the people. Every day, before he began to preach, the friar devoutly said Mass; then he exhorted his hearers to do penance and to placate the wrath of God with tears and fastings.

His words were of great efficacy; they penetrated more than the rays of light, softened the hardened of heart, and broke down every obstacle to right living. His voice was clear and sonorous; it could be heard distinctly near and far away. His discourses were not composed of profane learning, but they contained an eloquence which was calculated to move and bring to contrition every sinner. All then confessed their sins with much contrition; the people received Holy Communion with great reverence—which they had not done for a long time. No one can ever express in words—I do not say how many persons—but how many cities, dioceses and republics which had been thrown into confusion by hatreds and internal feuds were brought to peace and concord; how many youths and how many women buried in sins of the flesh, he converted to a chaste and honest life. He brought about the observance of the Lord's Day, reverence for holy places and respect for priests—which respect had been forgotten. He influenced those people who had money, to endow young maidens so that they could be decently married.

It was marvelous to see the old spirit of contradiction and hatreds change itself into Christian charity. . . . How many noble families of Siena who for many years were fighting one another, were reconciled! The honest and the devoted women,

9. Leone, *op. cit.*, p. 283.

who in the past gave themselves up to luxuries and vanities, forsook their necklaces and their golden chains, the mirrors and the ointments to adorn themselves, the novel styles of hair, and every kind of vanity. They brought to him the games of chance, checkerboards, dice, playing cards, and similar things, so that the friar could dispose of them in his own way. The usurers, the pirates, and the robbers were led to penance, and restored their stolen goods. Hospitals were built, money was given back to widows, and what was due them was restored to the orphans. Many men and women of all ages and conditions embraced the austerity of religious life in various institutes. New convents were erected; the fallen and ruined convents were restored.

The Franciscan order, through his efforts, became enlarged in such a manner, that, whereas, when Bernardine was invested with the habit, there were not more than twenty convents and about one hundred and twenty friars [in Italy], when he died, the convents numbered three hundred, with more than five thousand friars, besides the ones who had died during his life, not including those friars of other countries. Hence the prophecy which was made about him by the Venerable Father [St. Vincent Ferrer] was fulfilled, namely that he would produce immense fruit in Christendom.¹⁰

In the Fifteenth Century, popular preaching had ceased to be a living part of the liturgy of the Church. St. Francis and St. Dominic, as well as their immediate followers, had preached the simple wisdom of the Gospel in the manner of Christ. With the rise of Scholasticism, preaching became erudite, sermons became formal and mechanical. The historians of literature bring out this fact, giving us many examples of formalism in the pulpit. Since most of the preachers were scholars, there was more time spent in drawing distinctions and elucidating philosophical thought, in expounding the relative merits of the various schools, than in meeting the immediate needs of the ordinary people. The mind became subtle and ran after human learning, while the heart and the intimate yearnings of the individual soul were hushed under an avalanche of philosophical speculation. We do not minimize the fact that there were faculties in Mystical Theology in the various universities. But while the people wanted solid food, their leaders gave them soft delicacies with which to satisfy their intense spiritual hunger.

[There was] shallowness of reason, poor thoughts, strange antitheses, plays on words, the dry interweaving of Scholasticism which at that time was for the orators the hard foundation of an oration, an insipid mixture of the sacred and the profane, little knowledge of Theology and much less of Sacred Scripture whose texts were frequently cited in a distorted rather than in the true meaning.¹¹

There were some well meant attempts to bring eloquence back to its original popularity. Many orators took the opposite extreme and catered too much to the taste of the people of that time. They ended by becoming, if not vulgar in their sacred preaching, at least so low that the Word of God was fitted into the thought and the corrupt taste of that time. We have, also, sermons in a grandiose Ciceronian style, but these are dead to real moral thought. They hide within themselves the grain of the Gospel which is choked by the many tares and weeds, leaving very little fruit under the surface of fine words.¹²

10. Mazzara, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

11. Felice Alessio, *Storia di S. Bernardino da Siena e del suo tempo* (Mondovì, 1899).

12. Facchinetti, *op. cit.*, pp. 192 et seq.

BERNARDINE'S CONTRIBUTION

It was the accomplishment of St. Bernardine of Siena, by striking the golden mean in preaching, to save sacred eloquence from the dry formalism of the past and to keep it from becoming vulgar. He is the father of the popular sermon. He did not immediately discard both extremes; he used whatever good there was in each, in order to bring about something better suited for all people. In his popular sermons he retained the orderliness of the true Scholastic; he gave the divisions and subdivisions, but he did not become a slave to these divisions. He simply used these divisions in order not to deviate from the original theme or thought. His scholastic distinctions were not simply cut and dry sections; they were the framework which he filled in with human sinews, with flesh and blood, the warm heart of faith setting it in motion and keeping it alive. He invested the dry bones with life; he filled in and rounded out everything. He made use of everything to drive a point home to the people. The ordinary happenings in human life, the work of the farmer, the occupations of the business man, the studies of the scholar, various phenomena from physical nature—all these were brought into his sermons to strengthen and bolster his thesis. If at times he descended to considerations which to us look vulgar, such instances are by way of exception and not at all the rule; furthermore we must judge these by the taste of that period and by the general air he breathed. At times, when necessary, he became the fierce prophet raining down the vengeance of God upon the sinful people: but even then he was gentle and considerate. He wished his moral lessons to remain forever imbedded in the hearts and the minds of his audience. His sermons may well be conceived in the form of a drama in which the various characters are depicted, each having a lesson to convey. We rejoice, we laugh, we commiserate all the characters of the moral world. We pity and are struck with awe as he paints for us the spirit of hatred and the terrible destruction which is brought about by factions. We rise up to divine contemplation as he speaks of God and the divine attributes of the Name of Jesus.

That Bernardine was conscious of preaching in a new manner, and that he deliberately set out to preach in a way which he thought was better suited to the people, he himself confessed. In his sermon delivered on March 21, 1424, he said: "Now listen to what I tell you this morning, something which is rarely heard from the preachers of our times." On April 5, 1424, desiring to impress this novelty of preaching on the minds of his listeners he said:

If I were to preach according to the common usage, I would indeed preach to you the story of the man born blind—which Gospel passage is good and full of meaning. But God wants to show you something else in this Gospel story, namely that the man born blind has received his sight. I wish to preach to you nothing else, but to show you how you shall not become blind, and how he that is already blind may recover his sight.¹³

From these words we get an insight into his method of preaching. From the Gospels he took moral principles, and applied them to practical cases in life

13. Ciro Cannarozzi, O. F. M., *Le Prediche Volgari di San Bernardino da Siena* (Tip. Alberto Pacinotti, Pistoia, 1934), I, xv.

in order to lift the Christian spirit from the depths of misery to the great beauties and to the sublime heights of grace, and thus make a person desire heaven and the things above. His method was to purge the human soul from sin which drags it down, and then to give it freedom to soar to the realms above.

Bernardine tells us that he did not wish credit for this new method of preaching; he was merely following the admonition of the *Poverello*. In the sermon on March 23, 1424, he evidently answers those who ask him about his method: "I have learned from our Holy Father St. Francis who says in our Rule about preachers: 'Announce to the people vices and virtues, punishment and glory.'" And on April 4, 1424, he says:

Jesus Christ said to His disciples: "Go and preach the Gospel to all creatures." We have undertaken the apostolic life under the Seraphic Francis, who commands us in the Rule, among other things: "Announce to the people vices and virtues, punishments and glory"; and I have promised to observe it. Therefore do not be surprised if I do not always speak about the letter of the Gospel which is like the rind outside of the fruit; it is sufficient for you to have the marrow and whatever is inside.¹⁴

Thus we see that the Saint did not waste time in his popular sermons by treating exegetical questions in his texts. Wishing to preach on vices and virtues, punishments and glory, he took only the "marrow and whatever is inside" from the Gospel. Hence he advised that

the preacher, according to the lights which God gives to him, must select from the Scriptures that which would redound to the greater glory of God and to the greater advantage of souls; which can be reduced to preaching on the vices and the virtues, on the rewards and the punishments reserved to them. In our days some keep themselves to these norms and gather much more copious fruit than other preachers. At first, many did not wish to know of the new system; but they knew nothing about preaching: consequently they were not recognized, because as the Lord said: "From their fruits you shall know the tree."¹⁵

Bernardine thus restored the primitive spirit in preaching among the friars by reverting to the simplicity of St. Francis. This simplicity, augmented by his natural genius and the learning of his age, was the secret of his popularity. This is the reason why other members of the Franciscan family followed him as their model. This is the reason why he appeals to the modern age in his thought and his method of treating a subject.

In order to understand this great Franciscan who came in the spirit of St. Paul, in order to gain a fair estimate of his greatness, we must enter into the mechanics of his oratory which turned out such admirable products of sacred eloquence. It is evident that Bernardine studied the ancient orators and took a special course in rhetoric; hence he followed the ancient division of a discourse in essential details. The Scholastics had given the sermon three principal parts: the *thema*, the *corpus sermonis*, and the *conclusio*. This threefold division in reality included the six or seven sections of an oration as given by the old rhetoricians. Bernardine followed this threefold division in most of his formal discourses.¹⁶

14. *Ibid.*, p. xvi.

15. *Ibid.*, p. xvii.

16. Facchinetti, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

The *thema* in sacred eloquence consisted mainly of a text from Holy Scripture which contained the substance of the whole sermon. Bernardine was always very happy in the choice of his text. He had such a thorough command of the sacred books that he could easily overcome a difficult situation without being either too pedantic and obscure. His introductions in the *Prediche Volgari* are always very simple. Sometimes he omitted them, because he treated of certain themes whose unfolding would be the occupation of several days; he presupposed that the audience had heard him the day before and needed no formal introduction, and set to work immediately upon the subject under consideration. At most, he was satisfied to refresh the minds of the people by recalling what he had said in the previous sermons.

The *corpus sermonis* was the central and the vital section of the whole discourse. It included the narration, the division, and the exposition of the subject under consideration. In it various arguments were brought forth, and finally the confirmation which was generally derived from the classical triple font, the Holy Scriptures, the Fathers of the Church, and ecclesiastical tradition. In the hands of an expert in learning and in practical life, this section became Bernardine's real delight and strength. He put into this part of the sermon every gift he had: his learning, his knowledge of the human heart, his psychological observations, and his sociological deductions. As an accomplished story-teller, he knew how to present incidents from the holy books, from his own intimate contact with the people, and from the various happenings of his time. All those details were brought out in order to impress upon the minds of the audience the right moral attitude. It is true that if we judge him by our present standards, he seems to be excessive in his use of quotations and diverting anecdotes; but we must judge him by the taste of that day. It must be said to his honor and glory that he rid the Christian pulpit of the bad habit of citing profane authors and ancient mythology, which was a practice very prevalent in his age.

The *conclusio* naturally embraced the peroration and the conclusion proper. Bernardine was not very formal in this point. We find that at times he used a prayer for a peroration; at other times it was entirely left out. Since the sermons lasted for two or three hours, he preferred to make a peroration at the end of every section. In each section he would place all the fire of his eloquence, all possible appeal to the emotions and passions and to the better part of man. As a conclusion, he would generally give a summary of all the arguments or of the matter treated in his sermon. Sometimes he would conclude by enumerating the various parts treated, to make the people remember the resolutions they had formulated at the end of each section. Generally he rounded off his sermon with a few brief sentences which were calculated to leave an impression of great love and charity in the hearts of the sinful as well as the pious.

When we say that Bernardine always had an outline for his sermon, formal and clear-cut according to the scholastic method, we must not overlook the many deviations he allowed himself. He would often interrupt his discourses to insert matter which came to his mind and which he thought was pertinent at this point. We can well imagine how difficult it must have been to hold the attention of the people for one or two hours, especially when the sacred things of which he was treating — the Mass and the Sacraments, for instance

— were very lightly thought of by them. Hence he had recourse to many ingenious methods to gather the people together and to hold the attention of his audience. At one time only a small group had gathered to hear his sermon. Bernardine told the few there that on the next day he was going to show them the devil. Naturally the word went round the town, and the next day the church and part of the public square were crowded with the people who came to see the devil, as the preacher had promised them. The Saint ascended the pulpit, and with a humorous twinkle in his eye and a suppressed smile on his lip, he told the audience of his joy at seeing so many assembled in church. He gently chided them because it was their curiosity which had brought them there, whereas when he promised to show them God, the great Benefactor of mankind, they had turned a deaf ear. Then he told them that if they really wanted to see the devil, they should look at one another to find that the devil was already in possession of their souls. He had come to cast out this devil from them and make them free with the grace of God. This ruse served as a natural *exordium* for a sermon on the forgiveness of sins.¹⁷

As a young lad, I once heard the following traditional incident about St. Bernardine which shows his good humor. The Saint announced to the people that on the next day he would speak on charity and the right control of the tongue: he promised that he would give them a wonderful medicine guaranteed to cure all angry words, detraction, calumny, and uncharitableness. The next day many people came, principally for the bottle of medicine. Bernardine preached an eloquent sermon on charity. Then the small bottles to cure uncharitableness were distributed to the listeners. He instructed the people that, in order to effect a complete cure, they must follow his directions: whenever one is angry or has been provoked to anger, or is about to be uncharitable, he must immediately take a gulp of this medicine, he must hold it in his mouth without swallowing it until the anger is past or until there is no further danger of being uncharitable. We may imagine the good-humored smiles of the people when they found that the bottles contained nothing but water. His innocent fraud brought home, as no words could have done, the lesson that they must think before speaking, and that the control of the tongue is the beginning of control of offenses against charity.

If the audience was getting restless or not giving the preacher its full attention, the Saint would pound the pulpit to bring them to full attention. He used various other ingenious and novel ways of holding their interest. Biographers tell us that his power of dramatization was marvelous. He would depict a common scene from family life, mimic the various members of the family — the vain woman, the lazy husband, and the disobedient child. The people would smile and laugh with him, then he would come down upon them with the thunderbolt of his eloquence, while drawing the moral inference. We have many instances where the transcribers of his popular sermons took down the sounds of animals that the friar imitated in order to make the narrative more vivid and natural.

17. John Hofer, *St. John Capistran, Reformer* (B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis, 1943), p. 55.

Once he recalled the attention of the audience with the following stratagem. He took an unopened letter from his pocket, and said: "Listen to this letter which I have received this morning." The inattentive audience sat up in order to hear the contents of the letter of Bernardine. The friar reprimanded them for being so curious about the contents of an ordinary letter which was not addressed to them, and for being so cold and indifferent toward the letters which the Lord has written for us in Holy Writ and which he is trying to make them understand and follow. He put the unopened letter back into his pocket and continued the interrupted sermon.¹⁸

Sano di Pietro has left us several austere portraits of Bernardine. For all the severity depicted in that aristocratic face, there seems to be beneath those penetrating eyes and that noble brow, a sense of deep humanity and a great love for the ordinary people; an impression of being earthly for the sake of souls, and being heavenly in his own thoughts and aspirations. Although Bernardine may appear as the terrible prophet thundering maledictions upon a sinful nation, he always remains the gentle and kind father, the man with the generous heart that goes out to one and all, the spiritual guide who brings peace and happiness to sinful souls.

When the occasion called for it, he was strong and even terrifying. He is the preacher of God's Word; the burden of the ministry, the obligation of instructing and preaching to the people, lie heavily upon his shoulders. He has been called to that office, and he cannot but discharge this commission, even at the expense of personal comfort and at the loss of his reputation. When the people of Florence complained about the burning of the vanities in the public square, he used this simple defence:

Last Sunday you threw away the instruments which had brought offence to God. You gave an example of the way you have detested sin. This is often done for the confusion of the devil and as an example for the other people and for your neighbors. Remember this is not the first time that we do this. Much fruit has come therefrom, and I hope the same shall also be reaped here in Florence notwithstanding those who have murmured and complained against this practice. Whoever wishes to speak evil, let him say it in the open, because I am more obliged to defend the truth of what I preach than to preach it. This I shall continue, with the grace of God, to do up to my death, for the love of Jesus Christ.¹⁹

LE PREDICHE VOLGARI

In a short paper of this kind we cannot consider the various sets of sermons of St. Bernardine of Siena. We shall, however, direct our attention to the popular sermons of the Saint, commonly known as *Le Prediche Volgari*, in order to estimate their value in Bernardinian literature.

When we say popular sermons, and apply this appellation to the best-known sermons of the friar, it does not mean that there is in these discourses anything base; or that they are less distinctly characteristic than his other more erudite sermons which are strictly scholastic in form, such as the *Sermones Latini*, *De Religione Christiana*, *De Evangelio Aeterno*, etc. His *Prediche Volgari* represent him in the pulpit before a mixed congregation, imparting

18. Piero Misciattelli, *Le piu belle pagine di Bernardino da Siena* (Milano, Treves, 1924).

19. Cannarozzi, *op. cit.*, p. xxxiii.

the norms of practical living to the man in the street; while his *Sermones Latini* present him as the teacher, occupying the chair of some university and imparting theology to clerics and scholars. In the one, he is the orator who, although he keeps to his main topic, may digress in order to make what he has studied in private more intelligible to the ordinary man; in the other, he is more exact in his expressions, and has time to go over what he has written. The *Sermones Latini* should be read for doctrine and for learning; while *Le Prediche Volgari* should be read in the light of the age in which he lived. In reading them one should see the ingenuity of a man who uses everything, and employs even the homely incidents of everyday life, to bring home a moral lesson. In the one, he is the scholar; in the other, he is the real minister of God who brings salvation, peace and happiness of soul to a tired and weary world.

The *Prediche Volgari* have come down to us through self-appointed stenographers. At end of the Sermon on the Passion, given in Florence in Lent of 1424, the unknown transcriber remarks: "I, the writer, could take down no more of this sermon for want of small waxed boards on which to write."²⁰ Frequently these copyists, like our modern reporters, would give their own impressions of the reaction of the people to the sermons. They at times describe the ceremonies which the Saint used before and after his discourse.

Unfortunately, we do not know the names or the position of the reporters of the *Prediche Volgari*, with the exception of the course given in 1427 in Campo di Siena, where we have the name of the self-commissioned transcriber, a certain Benedetto di Messer Bartolomeo, a cloth-shearer of Siena. It may be that these reporters of the *Prediche* had been present at previous sermons of the Saint, and that since many good thoughts and much rare moral counsel were going to waste, they themselves should take down the words of the friar for their own advantage. We are certain that Bernardine knew that Benedetto was taking down his sermons given in Campo di Siena in 1427. The preacher admonishes the amanuensis from time to time, especially when his attention is flagging, or when he wishes to make a point emphatic. There are frequent recommendations to the transcriber: "O you who are writing, pay attention!"; "Hence, you who write, write this well"; "Here, writer, listen well to my words." There seems to be no sermon where such directions to the writer are missing.²¹ We owe a great debt of gratitude to the anonymous transcribers of the *Prediche Volgari*, who have saved for us this immense treasure of doctrine and eloquence. Without these reported sermons we would not know the human side of the Saint; we would not be acquainted with his puns, his ready wit and humor, his intimate knowledge of the human heart, his practical sense, and his penetrating and popular psychology and sociology. Italian literature would have lost many new expressions and beautiful phrases; the world would have lost much knowledge of the customs and the morals of the people at the very dawn of the Renaissance.

20. *Ibid.*, p. xi.

21. Piero Bargellini, *San Bernardino da Siena* (Morcelliana, Brescia, 1934), p. 280.

Did these reporters leave us a word-for-word transcription of what the Saint preached? In the prologue of the sermons of Campo di Siena of 1427, we are told that Benedetto "collected and wrote down the present sermons *de verbo ad verbum*, leaving out nothing which he preached."²² Notwithstanding this protestation, it would seem almost impossible for a stenographer to write or take down in shorthand upon waxed tablets, a whole sermon which would last for two or three hours. In fact, the time needed for a slow reading of any of Bernardine's sermons does not exceed a half hour at the most. Hence we cannot take the expression *de verbo ad verbum* to mean "word for word" in the strict sense. At most, it would mean that the words reported were those of Bernardine without any additions.

Frequently we meet with a synopsis of a sermon. Near the end of the sermon entitled *Della Confessione Difettosa*, the reporter says:

Now follows the third reason for the purgative confession. It is like a broom which is made up of many bristles, which the good housekeeper uses to clean the house. He said, in the tenth place, how and when a house is cleaned, and then he spoke about cleaning the house, how to clean and purge the house of our conscience. He gave many beautiful moral teachings and many fine examples, much sound and useful doctrine on matters of conscience, which I, the writer, did not take down on account of the length of the discourse and for lack of time. I wrote only what he said on the Gospel which you have heard on this day.²³

This is evidently a case of a compendium. There are many others, explicit or sensed implicit, in the *Prediche Volgari*.

There are some scholars²⁴ who maintain that the fidelity of the transcriber is in proportion to the interest and the enthusiasm which the Saint excited in the reporter and the audience. This is a good theory, based on the fact that the first sermons given in Florence in 1424 are more in skeleton-form than the last discourses. These latter appear to be invested with more ruddy flesh, and hence are more complete. The Sermon on the Virtues of the Holy Name, a subject which was dear to the heart of Bernardine, seems to be transcribed in complete form: there are very few lapses of thought; the words seem to flow very naturally. Furthermore, we may notice that the stories and humorous incidents, which are easily understood and readily retained, are always reported completely, with their many details; while the theological thought and the various deductions which a truly scholastic mind would make, are somewhat obscure and are never very clearly set forth in detail. Exactly the opposite is the case in the *Sermones Latini* and other writings of the Saint.

We can maintain, notwithstanding the *de verbo ad verbum* expression in the prologue of the 1427 sermons, that the reporters were not always wholly faithful in transcribing what the Saint said. The transcriber may be compared to a university student who attends a series of lectures given by an eminent professor. He takes down notes and jots down whatever strikes his fancy, and whatever may help him to remember the thought expressed. Naturally, the person who takes the notes will do so on the basis of his own understanding, stressing the points which he thinks should be stressed and passing over

22. Dionisio Pacetti, O. F. M., *S. Bernardino da Siena, Le Prediche Volgari, Campo di Siena, 1427* (Cantagalli, Siena, 1935), p. 46.

23. Cannarozzi, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

24. *Ibid.*, p. xii.

lightly an abstruse idea the full import of which does not strike him. These are personal notes for which a professor never assumes full responsibility. In the same way, the transcribers of the *Prediche Volgari* take down some thoughts verbatim, jot down other things to help their memory, and at their leisure they try to piece everything together, in order to reconstruct the whole sermon. Nevertheless, with all their shortcomings, we are very grateful to the transcribers for having undertaken this task and for having left us the living word of the eloquent preacher, the *Princeps Praedicatorum*.

EXAMPLES OF HIS ELOQUENCE

A few excerpts from the *Prediche* and the writings of St. Bernardine will help us appreciate the eloquence and the oratorical ability of this giant of the Christian pulpit.

The Saint often preached against vanity in dress and the luxury of women. He tried to make women understand how unchristian it is for them to over-adorn the body and give themselves up to vanity. The tone is indeed very pathetic.

It would seem strange that a woman on the day of the death of her spouse, or of her own father, would go to Mass with her head adorned with flowers. But it is more strange that a woman, redeemed by the Blood of Jesus Christ, the daughter and the spouse of the Eternal Father, goes to Mass with her head adorned with flowers, with gold, precious stones, veils and false hair, when we know that all the Masses celebrated are in memory of the Passion of Christ; and that the priest, raising the Body and the Blood of the Saviour, recalls to mind the elevation of Christ on the cross. What levity is yours, O woman, you who adorn your head with such a multitude of vanities! Remember that divine head, before which the angels prostrate themselves reverently. Recall that in order to expiate your vanity Christ was made a martyr with a crown of thick thorns which penetrated as far as the brain, and was all covered with blood, while you ornament your head with every kind of decoration. That head was torn with thorns, yours is resplendent with gems! The hair of Jesus Christ is matted with blood, while yours is combed clean—or rather, it is the hair of other people which you wear and which you color and perfume. His face was disfigured with spittle, with blood, and bruises; your face is colored with rouge and other things. His beautiful eyes, which form the delight of the angels in heaven, were obscured by a very cruel death; your eyes send forth sparks of voluptuousness and are ardent flames of lust. That majestic head, which the angels venerate, was bowed for you in deep humiliation; your heart, which is so proud, rises up against Him. He shows Himself ready to give you the kiss of peace; you are ready to declare war upon Him. Jesus invites you to shed tears which are the forerunners of pardon; and with the smile of sin you insult Him.²⁵

We often speak about the great work of reconciliation that was brought about by Bernardine through his preaching of devotion to the Holy Name of Jesus, and through urging the people to change the signs of their political parties and place over their doors the holy monogram "IHS." But we must not pass over lightly the great work and the marvelous apostolate he undertook in the economic world. Our present system of banking comes remotely from the shrewd Florentines who loaned money to royalty and nobility. At first, the interest charged on money was reasonable and controlled by the

25. Facchinetti, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

state, following certain moral principles on the risk and the loss of the loaned money. From this system there arose in time much corruption, especially when non-Christians began to take a part in the transactions. Money was loaned at an exorbitant rate of interest; excessive usury and oppression of borrowers was the inevitable result. The money lenders were called the *prestatori a penello*, men who loaned money with a stroke of the pen.

Our Saint took the usurers to task, comparing them to a swine in death and to a barber in life. As long as the hog is alive, he does nothing but eat and grow fat, and store up flesh upon his back — at immense expense to the person who raises him. When the animal is killed and dead, all eat its flesh with great joy. The same is true of the usurer and the miser. In life he pinches a penny and causes great grief among his debtors. As soon as he is dead, all rejoice and are happy for the money he has left behind. The usurers, he said, belong to the family of barbers, because they shave people to the point of drawing blood — which is needed for their sustenance. He preached a series of sermons on the restitution of ill-gotten goods; he reproved the people for using games of chance, which he calls theft. All these things must have appeared too rigorous to the money-mad Florentines.

He issued this invective against the unpatriotic citizen:

What a curse it is upon a nation, to see an old man without teeth and with his glasses upon his nose, waste his precious time in public gambling houses with dice in his hand. He seems to be happy when he wins six or ten florins. But if the Commune would ask him for a loan, or ask him to pay a tax of one florin, he would make a fuss and turn the world upside down. He is happier to serve the outcome of his dice-playing than to serve his Commune. There should be such a heavy tax placed upon these individuals that it would take from them the joy of gambling.²⁶

Bernardine's sermons on the Mother of God, for whom he had the greatest love and the most profound reverence, are models of great reserve in treating of a holy subject. In his sermons on the great mystery of the Incarnation which forms the immortal crown of the Virgin, the orator paints the background of the scene by describing twelve young ladies who wait upon Mary; these are personifications of the twelve virtues of the Mother of God. Then he weaves with beautiful colors upon this *substratum* of virtues the scenes of the Annunciation of the Angel Gabriel and the Incarnation of the Son of God. There is so much mastery in the handling of the materials that at the end we have a full picture of the greatness of Mary and her Divine Maternity, an immortal canvas, a masterpiece of Christian oratory.²⁷

A multitude of excerpts might be given in which Bernardine shows his ardent love for the great Mother of God. In the following invocation we seem to find the filial love of St. Bernard animating the burning heart of St. Bernardine:

O Woman, blessed by all and above all things, you are the honor and the preservation of the human race. You are rich in merits and in power above every other creature. You are the Mother of God. You are the Mistress of the universe and the Queen of the world. You are our advocate and the dispenser of all graces. You are the ornament of Holy Church. You are the inexhaustible font of all vir-

26. Cannarozzi, *op. cit.*, p. xxvi.

27. Pacetti, *op. cit.*, pp. 269 *et seq.*

tues and of every celestial gift. You are a most worthy vessel, made by the first Artificer, containing Divine Essence. You are a garden of delights. You are an example to which the good look up, the consolation of your devoted people and the beginning of our salvation. You are the Gate of Heaven and the Joy of Paradise. You, in fine, are the supreme glory of the Sovereign God. Yes, we confess it, our tongue is impotent to announce your greatness and to sing your praises. Hence, O sweet Mother, in your benignity have pity upon our littleness and grant us the grace to praise you more worthily in paradise, forever and ever. Amen.²⁸

In a sermon for the solemnity of Easter, Bernardine eloquently pictures for us the distress of Mary Magdalen, who is crying near the sepulcher, at not having found the body of her beloved Master. This section is very touching and most tender in tone and sentiment.

O Mary, what hope, what counsel, what heart had you to remain alone near the tomb? He Whom you seek, seems to be unmindful of your grief and of your tears; you call Him and He does not hear you; you seek Him and He does not come; you knock at His door and He does not open; you go after Him and He flees from you. What does this mean? What does this change of action mean? O how things have changed! Jesus runs away from you! Why, why does He not love you anymore? Once He loved you, once He defended you before the Pharisee, and tenderly excused you before your sister. Once, when you anointed His feet with ointment and washed His feet with tears and wiped them with your hair, Jesus eulogized you. He consoled you in your grief and granted you pardon for your sins. At one time when you were absent, He sought you; when you were not at His side, He sent for you, and through your sister He commanded that you should come near to Him.

Without waiting for an answer from the afflicted Magdalen, the orator turns from her to Jesus and thus pleads the cause of the penitent:

O most loving Master! what sin has she now committed against You? In what has she offended Your tender heart? Why do You, at present, keep Yourself from her? We know of no fault into which she has fallen. . . . Then, why do You hide Yourself from her? Have You not said: I love those that love Me, and he that has been all morning with Me, shall find Me? This woman has loved You; early in the morning has she been near to You. Why has she not found You?

Then the preacher himself tries to console Mary:

O Mary, listen to my counsel! For you it is enough to have the consolation of the angels. . . . Ask them if perchance they know what has become of Him Whom you seek through your tears. I am certain that they have purposely come to tell you, and that the same Jesus for Whom you weep, has sent them to announce to you His resurrection and to soothe your anguish.

Bernardine continues the colloquy of Mary with the angels, until he reaches the most solemn moment, namely the apparition of the Saviour under the guise of a gardener. This splendid dialogue, which only love could raise to such sublime heights, is presented here with all its attractive impetuosity and enchantment.

She saw Jesus, but she did not recognize Him. And Jesus said to her, "Woman, why do you weep? Whom do you seek?" O Desire of her soul, why do You ask her the reason of her tears, and inquire the object of her quest? Three days ago, with her very eyes she saw You, her Hope, transfixed upon the wood of the cross, and now You ask, "Why do you weep?" She saw, three days ago, Your hands pierced with nails, those hands which had frequently blessed her, and Your feet which she had washed with tears; and now You ask her, "Why do you weep?"

28. Facchinetti, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

Now she thinks that Your body has been stolen, the body she wished to sprinkle with perfumed ointments for her consolation, and You ask her, "Why do you weep? Whom do you seek?" You certainly know that she seeks You alone, she loves You alone; and You ask, "Whom do you seek?" You, loving Jesus, with the secret attraction of Your word, led this woman to love You. You bound her with the invisible chain of a loving affection when You forgave her her sins. You filled her heart with love; You enraptured her soul with miracles, with words, with divine inspirations. You gathered her tears, and You did not refuse the kiss of her lips. You snatched from her heart all the vitiated love for corruptible things, so that she could go in peace, and now You ask, "Whom do you seek?"... Love which has its source in You, and centers around You, makes her linger near the sepulcher, and You ask her, "Why do you weep?" You know the cause of her tears. You know the reason of her sighs... She seeks You with such ardor that she cares for nothing else but for You. On account of You she is weeping. Why therefore do You ask, "Whom do you seek?" Perhaps because she would say, "I am seeking You"? Or because she herself must recognize You, while You keep Yourself hidden from her?

But she, thinking that it was the gardner, replied, "Sir, if you have taken Him, tell me where you have laid Him, and I shall take Him away." O pitiful pain! O admirable love! This woman, surrounded by grief as if wrapped in a cloud, does not see the Sun that, rising up, illumines with its morning rays her soul and her heart! Because she is involved in deep grief, her eyes are obscured, and she does not see Who is before her. She could not picture the Blessed Lord in Jesus Who was speaking to her.

O Mary, if you seek Jesus, how is it that you do not recognize Him? Behold, He has come near to you to ask you Whom you seek, and you think that He is a gardner! In fact, He has sown the good seed in the garden of your soul, and now He comes to pull out the weeds of infidelity growing there. But of Whom are you talking when you say, "If you have taken Him"? Why do you not pronounce the name of Him Whom you desire? What does a person do who with great love goes in search of someone? He believes that everyone knows the object of his desires, as the spouse says in the Cantic of Canticles: Show me him whom my soul loves....

But, O woman, why do you add: "And I shall take Him away"? Joseph himself did not dare to take from the cross the body of Jesus without first asking permission from Pilate, and you have waited for the night, and without fear you boldly add: "And I shall take Him away!" O woman, if perchance the body of Jesus would be in the atrium of the High Priest, where the Apostle Peter waited to warm himself, what would you have done? "And I shall take Him away!" If they had placed it upon the public square in the midst of the crowd of Jews, what would you have done? "And I shall take Him away!" If it were in the house of Pilate, guarded by soldiers, what would you have done? "And I shall take Him away!" O admirable boldness of this woman! She makes no exception, her thoughts stop at nothing, she speaks without fear, she promises without condition: "Tell me where you have laid Him, and I shall take Him away!" O woman, marvelous is your constancy, and great is your faith!

But how, with what power, with what strength, and with what means, will you be able by yourself to carry a body so heavy that you needed the help of many others when you placed it in the sepulcher? Do you think that your companions are with you? Do you not know that they have already left you? "And I shall take Him away!" How true it is that love with its imagination thinks possible even the impossible, and believes that it can succeed in every undertaking, no matter how bold.

You, Good Jesus, therefore satisfy the ardent desires which have consumed this woman for three days... Certainly she shall die of grief if You do not give her the Life of her soul.

Then Jesus said to her: "Mary!" That voice which pronounced her name penetrated the innermost depths of her soul!²⁹

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, I would call the attention of our young levites to the works of the Prince of Franciscan Preachers. It is true that many of Bernardine's sermons and discourses are outmoded by our modern standards. Nevertheless, this eloquent friar can teach us how to make our sermons wholesome and popular; how to make use of the vast amount of knowledge which is common to every man; and how to apply the common incidents of life to our words in order to clear up a point and to bring home in a forceful manner the lessons we wish to impart from the pulpit.

It is to be deplored that pulpit oratory is degenerating into empty formalism; many preachers aim at catchy phrases and beautiful words. There is danger that in our anxiety to introduce embellishments into our sermons we may sacrifice the marrow of the Gospel and spend most of our time in presenting the rind of moral teaching. On Sundays the faithful are to be fed with spiritual food which is to last for a whole week; we should take care not to send them away empty. Nor should we think that we have done our duty when we give them a few pleasantries and a few remarks on the Gospel. The injunction of our Holy Father St. Francis, which was the real secret of Bernardine's eloquence, is very much to the point:

I admonish and exhort the friars, that in the preaching they do, their discourse be chaste and examined, for the utility and the edification of the people, announcing to them vices and virtues, punishment and glory, with brevity of speech, because the Lord made His words short upon earth.³⁰

The Franciscan family has grand traditions in the preaching apostolate: we must continue in the footsteps of our spiritual forefathers. Let us hope that Franciscan eloquence will always breathe the spirit of the Poverello, and that St. Bernardine of Siena will inspire preachers everywhere, and our young Franciscans in particular, to discharge this duty of the ministry with distinction and zeal for the greater honor and glory of God.

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DISCUSSION

FR. MARION HABIG, O. F. M.: — The Latin sermons written by St. Bernardine are a faithful record of the doctrine preached by him, and the scholar who wishes to ascertain that doctrine will prefer the Latin sermons to the *Prediche Volgari*, or vernacular sermons, of the Saint. Since the latter were taken down by persons who heard them preached and were not written by St. Bernardine himself, one must make allowances for some errors on the part of the scribes. However, the Latin sermons are a collection of sermon material rather than an account of the sermons actually preached by St. Bernardine; and one must read the *Prediche Volgari* to obtain an idea of that forceful eloquence of the Saint which held his vast audiences spellbound. Most of the *Prediche Volgari* which have been published, it is true, are only summaries and extracts of sermons which sometimes lasted three hours or more; for instance, the course given at Florence in 1424, edited in two volumes by Fr. Cannarozzi, O. F. M., in 1934.

30. *Rule of the Friars Minor*, Chapter IX.

There is, however, one course of which a penman strove to record faithfully every word spoken by the Saint; and that is the course preached at Siena in 1427, edited in three volumes by Luciano Banchi from 1880 to 1888. These sermons, more than any others, tell us what kind of preacher St. Bernardine was. It may be well to call attention to the fact that Fr. Pacetti's volume of sermons of the 1427 Siena course, published in 1935, is not a new edition of the entire course but contains selections only. For the complete sermons, reproduced as St. Bernardine preached them, one must consult the edition of Banchi.

For a treatment of the published sermons of St. Bernardine, cf. "The Works of St. Bernardine," FRANCISCAN STUDIES, September, 1944.

ST. BERNARDINE'S PREACHING TECHNIQUE

THE Divine Word is synonymous with omnipotence: *Quoniam ipse dixit, et facta sunt*.¹ Human speech partakes of this prerogative to a certain extent. At any rate, it is one of the most difficult and most glorious exercises of the created intellect. La Bruyère, a French moralist, affirmed that "the art of speech resembles in one way the art of war: there is greater risk, but success is obtained quicker."² Among the different uses of speech, without doubt the noblest is preaching. It springs from the profoundly Christian thought that it is our duty to guide our fellow-men and to work for their eternal salvation. In obedience to the injunction of its Founder, Christianity has instituted this free teaching of morals, this public course of dogma, this constant appeal for justice, which falls from even the lowliest Christian pulpit as a celestial manna. How many people, occupied with their personal interests, would never hear of duty, virtue, sacrifice, or immortal hopes, if there were no such thing as preaching? The humblest preacher, even if his delivery is faulty, surpasses the subtlest philosopher because he accomplishes a divine mission. How much greater is the orator who uses his convictions and his ardent charity to stir up souls, if he is at the same time a saint and a learned man. He finds his way into hearts and brings about such changes as morally to transform a whole city and even a whole country. This is what happened in France, in the Fourteenth Century, with the Spaniard, Vincent Ferrer; and Italy, in the Fifteenth Century, witnessed the same transformation under Bernardine of Siena.

Bernardine was an authentic preacher. He was not a grandiloquent talker who, with elaborated periods, rendered dull the most touching questions of faith or morals. He was not a pedant who displayed his erudition. He was not a vain man in quest of a reputation for himself, or attempting to satisfy his human ambition. He was a man of God "who uses speech only for thought, and thought only for truth and virtue."³ Before beginning his mission, he spent a long time in preparation. He possessed not only the knowledge which Fénelon requires of an orator,⁴ but also the powerful attractive force of a virtuous and ascetic life. "It is the man, not the sermon that preaches," Cardinal Manning pointed out; "the sermon is what the man is; and from this point of view, the preparation required for a preacher is not that of the sermon but that of the man."⁵ His mission begun, Bernardine devoted himself entirely to his work. In order to have no obstacle to his apostolate, he refused three bishoprics. For the same reason, he did not want to hear confessions of either men or women. He complained that many priests say Mass, but few are willing to preach. Therefore he insisted on the necessity of preaching. "To choose between Mass and the sermon, it would be preferable to miss Mass rather than miss the sermon."⁶ The reason is obvious; if we do not preach, faith disappears, truth gives way to error,

1. Psalm 32:9.

2. La Bruyère, *Les Caractères* (Nelson edition), p. 520.

3. Fénelon, *Lettre à l'Académie* (Larousse edition), p. 27.

4. *Ibid.*

5. Manning, *The Eternal Priesthood*, p. 182.

6. Banchi, *Le Prediche Volgari* (Siena, 1880-88, 3 vols.), I, 66.

and salvation is jeopardized. "O citizens, do you want to save Siena? . . . Listen to the Word of God."⁷

For almost forty years the apostle sowed that Word of God with extraordinary joy. "How happy I am when I preach! The joy of preaching is so great that every sermon adds a pound to my weight."⁸ It is not surprising that this jovial little friar should have restored sacred oratory in the Italy of the Quattrocento. His contemporaries unanimously praised his eloquence and its influence upon his country. It seems that he, par excellence, merited the title, so arbitrarily granted, of Prince of Orators.

To appreciate St. Bernardine's technique, we must distinguish two categories of sermons: the Latin sermons and the Italian sermons. The former, which as a matter of fact he never delivered, are a sort of reserve from which he draws for his sermons in the vernacular. They are theological treatises which do not reveal Bernardine's eloquence. Of his popular sermons, we have those which he delivered in the Santa Croce Church of Florence in 1424; those preached at Florence and Siena in 1425; and finally those preached at Siena in 1427. We shall confine ourselves chiefly to this last group of sermons. If they are not the only authentic ones, they are virtually the only ones which have come down to us in their entirety. Most of the sermons of Florence are abridged, resembling more or less developed outlines. With the sermons of 1427, we are in the presence of the original thought of Bernardine. They have been gathered from the very mouth of the Saint by a *fedele reportatore*, a fuller by the name of Benedetto di Messer Bartolomeo. By means of a special shorthand, he engraved the preacher's words on wax tablets, recopying them later. In this manner, he succeeded in reproducing the spoken text in its entirety. Thanks to these forty-five sermons, we are able to characterize the oratory of Bernardine, and to picture with fair accuracy what the preacher really was like in action.

He preached in the impressive setting of the Campo of Siena, with its gorgeous campanile and lordly palaces. This course of sermons, begun on April 25, 1427, was continued throughout the whole month of May, before an incredibly large multitude according to an eyewitness, Franciscus Mei Nicolai.⁹ The preacher was very familiar with his audience. He was well aware of their mortal factions, their many murders, their flagrant vices. He knew the luxury of the women, the passion of the men for gambling and their propensity to blasphemy. He sensed the defects in their understanding of family life. Nothing escaped his observation. To these people whose distress touched him and whose needs he knew so well, he spoke in their own tongue. He always spoke *secondo i vocaboli loro*,¹⁰ according to the idiom of the place where he was evangelizing. Before preaching, Bernardine celebrated the Holy Sacrifice on an altar erected for the occasion in the public square. After Mass, the celebrant divested himself of his priestly vestments, and said a short prayer. He then made a large sign of the cross, quoted his text (which was often taken from the Psalms or from the Apocalypse; sometimes the same text was

7. *Ibid.*, p. 75.

8. *Ibid.*, V, II, 326.

9. *A. F. H.*, 1915, p. 679.

10. Banchi, *op. cit.*, II, 229.

used for six consecutive sermons). Bernardine next gave a general outline of his subject, announcing the divisions and subdivisions, i. e., the principal ideas which he intended to propound. His teaching was based on Scripture, which he quoted with remarkable frequency, adapting his texts with great liberty to the needs of his audience. He was not a professor attempting to astound by his learning, but an apostle whose sole purpose was the welfare of souls. This we see clearly from the subject matter of his sermons. As St. Francis recommended in his Rule, and as St. Francis of Sales was to recommend later,¹¹ he treated of vices and virtues, punishment and glory. In his sermon of March 23, 1424, delivered at Florence, he admitted explicitly that he was following the counsels of the Poverello.¹² This was the pattern that had been handed down to Bernardine by his predecessors. This mould he modified and enriched, introducing into it the treasures of his own observation, his psychology of the masses, the richness of his wit and oratorical talent. His real originality lay in the form and the manner, rather than in the subject matter, and it is there that we shall look for the qualities of his oratory.

Nascuntur poetae, fiunt oratores, says Quintilian. The success of Bernardine, however, was due not only to his natural or acquired gifts. It was the consequence of his love of God—a truth which the Saint confesses very frankly:

From the first day that I began to exercise the apostolic ministry, I have endeavored never to say a word which was not for the honor and glory of God, and to this rule . . . I owe what I possess of knowledge, eloquence, and authority.¹³

Being a reasonable man, he cultivated his natural talents, he profited by his human experience, he fostered the sacred fire within himself. Unlike Savonarola, he did not despise human means. He captivated the multitudes by means of his oratorical talents as much as by his sanctity, even if he agreed that "genuine eloquence scoffs at eloquence."¹⁴

What were the human elements of Bernardine's eloquence? After carefully examining his sermons of 1427, I believe we can pick out four principal qualities in his oratory: genuine Franciscan simplicity, vividness, forcefulness, and unction.

SIMPLICITY

Scholastic ideas and form permeated Fourteenth Century preaching in Italy. Bernardine's first concern was to avoid as much as possible the rigor and dryness of this formalism. To be sure, he retained the traditional divisions and subdivisions. St. Vincent Ferrer likewise used them, insisting that these pauses were necessary. Bernardine, preaching in the open, kept his audience's attention for two hours and even more. If he had adhered to these divisions strictly, he would have quickly bored his listeners. There-

11. *Lettre sur la prédication*, 5 octobre, 1604.

12. Cannarozzi, *Le Prediche Volgari*, I, 246.

13. Father Léon, *Lives of the Saints* (Taunton, 1886), II, 243-244.

14. Pascal, *Pensées* (Baldi Collection), p. 20.

fore the orator readily deviated from this stiff form. There was nothing solemn or heavy in his discourses; they were rich with genuine Franciscan simplicity, which is perhaps the climax of art. As La Bruyère points out, "The simple word and the simple formula are often what is found last."¹⁵ Bernardine found them first, without effort, because he had mastered the doctrine which he presented to the people. His ambition was to make himself understood, and for this reason he spoke clearly and repeated his words: "chiarozo, chiarozo, alla chiarozza."¹⁶ "The tongue," he said, "is wider than it is big — which means that you must speak amply rather than big, i. e., so as to be understood."¹⁷ His tongue surely practised this conformity, for his rhetoric readily adapted itself to the procedures of popular oratory. There was no redundancy, circumlocution, no drawing of subtle distinctions, no trace of bombast in his sermons. His style was simple, clear, familiar, and colorful, in order to strike the imagination and to render more concrete the truths of faith. Bernardine strove to enlighten; therefore he saw to it that his vocabulary as well as his style could easily be understood. His was the language of an apostle who leads souls into the path of righteousness and inflames them with good desires. Early in his sermon he would abandon his scholarly divisions, passing from one idea to another at the suggestion of his jovial turn of mind, introducing jokes into the most serious remarks, yet always careful to retain the attention of his audience and, for that purpose, speaking a language which could not be misunderstood. In spite of this apparent irregularity, Bernardine seldom lacked psychological logic. He realized that the people did not bother much about the linking of proofs or the regular development of a discourse.

This simplicity allowed Bernardine to communicate more easily with his audience. He did not sermonize or shout; he simply conversed. At times, he seemed to be talking familiarly with someone and whispering a secret in his ear.

Remember, man, when you give your son a wife, don't give him one who can't sew a stitch or hold a needle in her hand or darn her husband's socks when the heel is worn, or do anything whatsoever in the house. If she has been brought up as Lady Happy-Go-Lucky [Monna Agiata], she will know nothing else besides her vanities. Her husband will have made a pretty choice if he chooses a beautiful *ballerina* and *cantatrice*, all decked up. She will idle away the whole day by the window, and he won't be able to get anything good out of her.¹⁸

This familiar simplicity may also be noticed in his manner of addressing the people of Siena: "O you tell me fine stories! . . . I have told you, in all possible ways, what you should do. . . . Ah! do not giggle, because the devil also giggled in his time." At every moment proverbs sprang forth in his sermons, some of which were well known: "Far from the eyes, far from the heart."¹⁹ "One barber shaves the other."²⁰ "To put the plow before the

15. *Op. cit.*, p. 91.

16. Banchi, *op. cit.*, I, 59; II, 62.

17. *Ibid.*, I, 228.

18. *Ibid.*, II, 450-451.

19. *Ibid.*, I, 201.

20. *Ibid.*, III, 73.

ox." Now and then he invented others, or quoted some less known to his listeners: "A mountain mule chases a tame horse."²¹ "He who speaks much makes many mistakes."²² "For lack of robins, I must be satisfied with thrushes."²³ "What cannot be seen, the heart does not believe."²⁴ "For shorn sheep, God measures the wind."²⁵ These are only a few samples from his vast repertory. In his familiarity, he went so far as frequently to speak about himself. He mentioned his first miracle before he was a friar (this humorous story reminds us a little of Mark Twain).²⁶ He excused himself for being late: "It behooves me to shorten my speech because I came late. This was my fault, into which I fell through ignorance. I thought I had to preach at half past three."²⁷ He related that at Cremona, in Lombardy, he preached at night because it was vintage time — "so well into the night that at daybreak I had already spoken four hours."²⁸ He sometimes gave details that would shock a more refined audience, as, for instance, when he mentions his purgations.²⁹

Bernardine was frank; he never varnished the truth. He spoke *alla larga*,³⁰ with great freedom. He did not hold back when making remarks: "Come bestie vivete e peggio che bestie."³¹ However this familiar manner of speaking was seldom vulgar. The orator ordinarily remained well within the limits of moderation for, as he pointed out, even "unworthy things can be spoken of in a good manner."³² Bernardine compared himself to the rooster who sometimes lifts his wings so as not to soil them. One day, he announced a rather delicate subject that he would treat on the morrow:

I advise you to bring your daughters because I don't think you will ever hear a more useful sermon. I do not say that you should bring only your married daughters, but I say married and to-be-married, and my sermon shall be so decent that I shall not bemire myself.³³

Let us add that sometimes, at least according to our standards, he went a little too far. His commentary on St. Paul about the duties of husband and wife would seem very daring in our day.³⁴ He fell into an excessive realism at times but, on the whole, his speech was marked with that reserve befitting the Christian orator. Thanks to this simplicity and this familiarity, Bernardine put himself on common ground with his audience to whom he expounded the doctrine of Christ, *La dottrina di Cristo*,³⁵ in all its purity.

21. *Ibid.*, I, 199.

22. *Ibid.*, I, 221.

23. *Ibid.*, II, 124.

24. *Ibid.*, I, 201.

25. *Ibid.*, III, 335.

26. *Ibid.*, II, 351 *et seq.*

27. *Ibid.*, II, 22.

28. *Ibid.*, I, 285-286.

29. *Ibid.*, I, 89.

30. *Ibid.*, II, 450-451.

31. Cannarozzi, *op. cit.*, I, 382.

32. Banchi, *op. cit.*, II, 125.

33. *Ibid.*, II, 95.

34. *Ibid.*, II, 134 *et seq.*

35. *Ibid.*, I, 60.

VIVIDNESS

Simplicity and naturalness are but conditions of real eloquence; they do not constitute its essence. In order to hold the attention of hearers for several hours, an animated and lively delivery is necessary. An average audience, dominated by the imagination and by things sensed, is captivated only by vivid representations. It wants something concrete; it relishes a dramatic performance. Bernardine's sermons are a model from this point of view, for they rarely lack this dramatic element. It is in this regard that the various procedures of his eloquence manifest themselves.

Bernardine did not repudiate the forms prescribed by art. Comparisons, apostrophes, dialogues, pen pictures, references to nature, restful anecdotes, amusing flashes of wit, detailed circumstances, all these he used to fix the attention of his hearer and to implant truth in his mind. This forceful preacher did not hesitate to use any and all means in order to illustrate his doctrine. Everything in his sermons was combined to interest and to stimulate the different faculties of the soul.

Bernardine was a clear-sighted observer of nature which became for him an inexhaustible source of comparisons. Comparison pleases the people, it enlightens the understanding and prompts to action. The Saint often alluded to chickens, geese, peacocks, crows, ortolans, snakes, Lombardy oxen and mules. His comparisons and analogies were ingenious because they were taken from objects, things, and beings familiar to his listeners. He spoke of the rich who have "more clothing than an onion."³⁶ He compared misers to a penny-box: "you can get their money only by breaking them."³⁷ He imitated the croaking of frogs:

You know what a frog does? A frog cries: coua, coua, coua, coua. I have gone close to them when they cried: coua, coua. You are hardly near their pond when they all flee and not one moves. In like manner the slanderer, when he wants to slander, cries: coua, coua, coua.³⁸

The donkey was still more familiar to him:

Did you ever see a donkey walking sideways because one side of his load is heavier than the other? You know that you must add a stone to balance the load. So it is with marriage. It was instituted so that one party should help the other to keep the load balanced.³⁹

Bernardine had frequent recourse to allegories, which are drawn out symbols. They give a dramatic aspect to his teaching because they are always clear, and the idea which they convey does not lack grandeur. Thus, during a whole sermon, he discoursed upon the Twelve Handmaids of the Blessed Virgin, not being satisfied with merely enumerating them. He knew that what counts is the practical teaching, which can be found in all twelve categories of this sermon.

Another element of liveliness is apostrophe. This is not a mere artifice or a wile of rhetoric. It is a means at the service of truth which rarely fails

36. *Ibid.*, III, 326.

37. *Ibid.*, III, 312.

38. *Ibid.*, I, 184-185.

39. *Ibid.*, II, 96.

in its effect. It often happened that Bernardine awakened sleepers in this manner: "Did you hear me, the woman who is sleeping? I came here to bring to you the Word of God, and you slumber, and I am obliged to pause in order to awaken you."⁴⁰ He apostrophizes children playing ball.⁴¹ He addressed everybody in fact. "O I see a woman who, if she were looking at me, would not be looking where she is looking. Pay attention, for goodness' sake!"⁴² "Old man, and you, old woman, are you there?"⁴³ "Remain where you are, ladies, do not leave! What do you think this is? Not one of you must leave."⁴⁴ He even teased the scribe who was copying his sermon and advised him to take down his divisions properly.⁴⁵ We can almost see his gestures, his mimic and his grimaces when he asked questions. "As soon as you hear one of those who slander, hold your nose, like this!"⁴⁶ Or again: "Have you ever seen someone when he is angry at another? Do you know how he points at him? He points him out with his snout, like this, do you see?"⁴⁷ From apostrophes, Bernardine went on to threats: "If you do not amend your life, I warn you that God will punish and chastise you."⁴⁸ "With what will God reproach those women who have seen the poor naked and frozen while they were wearing gowns so long that they trailed on the ground and sleeves so ample that they would suffice to clothe several persons? God's maledictions will be upon them!"⁴⁹

If Bernardine noticed that his audience needed more light on the subject, or a striking answer, he imagined a person to whom he would give the reply in impressive terms. He advised mothers to keep their daughters busy at home:

"Is there any sweeping to be done?" "Yes." "Yes? Make her do it. Are there any dishes to be washed? Make her wash them. Is there any peeling to be done? Make her peel. Is there any washing? Make her do the washing in the house." "But what about the maid?" "That does not matter. Let her do it—to give her some exercise. If you do not accustom her to do everything, she will become a nice little lump of flesh."⁵⁰

He even carried on real dialogues with his listeners which the good Benedetto notes faithfully:

"Lady, hurry, go and get your husband. I tell you, go and call him!"
 "But I have called him!"
 "I say, go and call him."
 "And what if I lose my place?"
 "No, you will not lose it. Go. Besides there is enough room."
 "But I can never get out of here."
 "I say, go and call him. — Ah! at last."⁵¹

40. *Ibid.*, I, 77.

41. *Ibid.*, III, 136.

42. *Ibid.*, II, 49.

43. *Ibid.*, III, 491.

44. *Ibid.*, III, 388.

45. *Ibid.*, II, 241.

46. *Ibid.*, I, 154.

47. *Ibid.*, I, 350.

48. *Ibid.*, III, 269.

49. *Ibid.*, III, 294.

50. *Ibid.*, II, 455.

51. *Ibid.*, II, 240.

Without any effort, he passed from a humorous attitude to a more serious one, free to give an example or an apologue when the attention of his listeners began to flag. "Examples," writes St. Francis de Sales, "have marvelous force and give much relish to a sermon. They must, however, be well chosen, well proposed, and well applied."⁵² Those of Bernardine fulfil these conditions and they perfect, so to say, his rhetoric. These vigorous and cleverly turned stories bear an excellent lesson. When the lesson is obvious, the preacher adds a practical application and resumes his subject, *a casa*. One could compose a fair-sized book with these apologues, a book of fables which would remind us of that of the famous La Fontaine. We gain a fair idea of his inventiveness from the enumeration of these few titles: The Wolf and the Fox;⁵³ The Monk, the Young Monk, and the Donkey;⁵⁴ The Widow and Opinion;⁵⁵ The Foolish Peasant;⁵⁶ The Donkey of the Three Farms;⁵⁷ The Lion Holding Chapter;⁵⁸ The Robber Disguised as a Hog;⁵⁹ The Crows and the Scarecrow;⁶⁰ The Bear and the Monkey;⁶¹ The Peasant at Matins;⁶² The Priest and the Usurer;⁶³ The Temptation Mastered.⁶⁴ Most of these apologues are known. I shall cite one which is less well known. It is entitled, "The Widow and Opinion."

A Roman matron, who was as prudent as she was kind, became a widow very early; and she was very rich. She was determined not to defile her body. But, as she was young and beautiful, she was not without apprehension, and she said to herself, "I really don't know if I can remain without a husband." And she reasoned thus: "Now, if I remarry, what will they say about me? They will say that I cannot go without a husband." And, as she really desired to remarry, she first wanted to sound public opinion — which she did in the following manner. She had a horse flayed and then said to one of her servants, "Get on this horse and ride through the whole city, and remember all that the people will do and say about your horse." The servant got into the saddle and rode through the city. Happy was he who could run to see this flayed horse! All day long the servant rode thus, and in the evening he returned home. His mistress asked him, "What did they say about the horse?" The servant answered, "All Rome ran to see it, and they exclaimed, 'What does that mean?' He who could see anything was considered fortunate, so great was the crowd." The following day the lady had another horse flayed, and she gave it to her servant with the same instructions as on the preceding day. The servant therefore returned to the city on his flayed animal, but less people gathered to see it. When he returned home in the evening, his mistress asked him what had happened and what was said about his horse. The servant answered, "Madam, few people gathered to see it, compared to yesterday's crowd." The next day the lady had a third horse flayed, and she sent her servant to parade in the city once more. But in vain did he go through all the streets of Rome; hardly anyone paid attention to his horse. When he came back in the evening, his mistress asked him about the horse.

52. *Loc. cit.*, *passim*.

53. Banchi, I, 319 *et seq.*

54. *Ibid.*, I, 172 *et seq.*

55. *Ibid.*, I, 174 *et seq.*

56. *Ibid.*, II, 216 *et seq.*

57. *Ibid.*, III, 196 *et seq.*

58. *Ibid.*, II, 29 *et seq.*

59. *Ibid.*, I, 234 *et seq.*

60. *Ibid.*, II, 296 *et seq.*

61. *Ibid.*, II, 272 *et seq.*

62. *Ibid.*, II, 338 *et seq.*

63. Cannarozzi, II, 338 *et seq.*

64. Banchi, II, 351 *et seq.*

The servant answered, "Madam, hardly anybody came to see it, and nobody seemed to speak about it." The lady then thought within herself: "Really, I can remarry. If, by any chance, people should speak about me, they will soon tire, and after two or three days, nobody will bother about it." And accordingly she married again. As soon as it became known, people began to gossip. "Oh! the young widow — you know who — is remarried. It would seem that she could not fare successfully as a widow." For two or three days people joked about her, then hardly anyone said a word about it. And, I say, the lady acted very wisely."

In most of these narratives, the moral is evident. They are, therefore, a means, and not an end. Never did Bernardine forget his apostolic mission. He amused his audience, but he also compelled them to reflect, to look into their own hearts and conscience. Apart from their moral value, these apologies, on account of their freshness, their naturalness and their originality, would suffice to classify Bernardine among the most delightful prose-writers of the Quattrocento.

FORCEFULNESS

St. Augustine pointed out⁶⁵ that we must speak in a strong and vehement manner when we wish to move men and to save them from their passions. Bernardine followed this rule in his sermons. He possessed not only a general view of his epoch, but he knew in detail the needs of his contemporaries, their dissensions, the disorders of their private and public life. In order to remedy these evils, he was often obliged to raise his voice and speak with energy and force. His aim was not only to instruct. He intended to take the fortress by assault, and force its defenders to surrender. Sure of the truth he propounded, he affirmed it bluntly, without discussion. He laid down the rules of Christian morality without exaggerating them, but also without minimizing them. "If he gives tonics, he also administers medicine."⁶⁶ When he revealed the hidden motives which prompted his compatriots, or when he depicted in strong colors the vices and the stains of the society of his time, he was very outspoken. He spoke with authority, in a commanding tone. "He expresses himself with sublimity, whose life is without reproach," says St. Augustine.⁶⁷ Bernardine could scourge error, thunder against abuses, rebuke the mighty boldly, with full liberty, for he expected no favors from anyone. The innocence and the austerity of his life shielded him from any attack. This supreme independence explains the vigor of his discourses. When an orator proclaims justice and right, when he sets his heart on having the law of God respected in its integrity, this orator can lay hold of the crowds and transform them. Bernardine, without doubt, did not censure the vices of his time in terms as terrible as those of Savonarola. His zeal did not lead him to any excess. If he condemned sharply, he never acted like a prophet. His common sense protected him from the exaggerations, and saved him from the ridicule into which several of his contemporaries had lapsed. Besides, as a rule he brought words of peace and reconciliation to his hearers. Sometimes, however, it was necessary to attack, to unmask error and falsehood, to brand ungodliness, to snatch souls from the abyss of sin; and then Ber-

65. *De Doctrina Christiana*, IV, XXXII, 34.

66. Banchi, *loc. cit.*, I, 240.

67. *Op. cit.*, IV, XXVII, 61.

nardine brought forth the powerful accents of his apostolic preaching. Seldom has the Christian pulpit resounded to more courageous words, more pressing and more passionate appeals. When he thundered against avarice, against new styles, against ogling in church, against prostitutes dressed *à la française*, against coquetry, his vehemence of speech was indeed passionate and fiery. Listen to these solemn warnings:

O Sieneſe, God is brandiſhing a ſword in His hand and bending His bow to pierce you to the heart with His judgments, and great evils are awaiting you. . . . They have forſaken the Lord, ſays Iſaias, by not keeping His commandments, and they have blaſphemed Him and His Saints. Therefore God will ſend you His puniſhments. Your land ſhall be barren and your city of Siena ſhall be a prey to flames; your country ſhall be oppreſſed and deſpoiled of all the goods it poſſeſſes, then depopulated of its inhabitants, abandoned by thoſe who governed it, delivered to the ſoldiery; and the daughter of Sion will be only an empty ſhadow, like a vine deſpoiled of its fruit.⁶⁸

We ſhould quote this entire ſermon "On Three Capital Sins," for it is from beginning to end a magnificent outbuſt of eloquence. If he ſpoke of the factions — which he often did — his ſpeech became grave and even had about it a ſuggeſtion of tragedy:

O you, who for forty years have ſpent your days in ſedition and hatred, and reſuſe to grant peace to your enemies, what do you think you will do in eternity? Alas! do you not want to conſider the ſtate of your ſoul already plunged in the darkneſs of hell? Do you not want to realize that you are old now, that you will ſoon come to the end of theſe days of which you will have to render ſtrict account? In what ſtate will you appear before the Sovereign Judge? Will it be with your heart filled with hatred? Poor people, if you had any fear of the puniſhment which is reſerved for you when you do not forgive your enemies, I aſſure you that you would quickly go and ſeek thoſe who have wronged you.⁶⁹

His indignation was ſometimes mingled with ſatire. When he ſpeaks of ſodomy, for inſtance,⁷⁰ his tone makes us ſhiver even at the diſtance of five centuries. His invectives, either ironical or realistic, on many occaſions reached the height of ſuperior eloquence. But even when he fulminated againſt abuſes, he reſpected the ſouls.

God [he cried out one day] does not want to beat you with a rod as the ſchool-maſter does. Do you know what He does? He acts as a mother with her little child who does not behave as he ſhould. She ſays to him: "If I get up. . . Ah! if I get up!" And ſhe threatens the child and pretends. So does God act.⁷¹

Bernardine, likewise, pretended, but he did not say so to his hearers. However, his apostolic vehemence and his intrepidity of speech were always at the service of love.

UNCTION

Knowledge is not everything. If the soul needs enlightenment, it needs fervor still more. After having inspired his audience with a horror of sin

68. Banchi, *loc. cit.*, III, 118 *et seq.*

69. *Ibid.*, III, 383-384.

70. *Ibid.*, II, 37-38.

71. *Ibid.*, I, 357.

and a fear of God's punishments, after having rebuked them for their disorders, and rooted out of their hearts the passions which oppress them, the preacher, if he wants to be sure of success, must also touch their hearts. Hence St. Bernardine did not consider his task completed when he had enlightened his hearers and shaken their insensibility. He wished to inflame them with holy desires, to fix their gaze on the splendors of heaven, and to communicate to them his ardent love of God and men. He, therefore, became a burning furnace of charity. The preaching of Bernardine was above all permeated by a supernatural love of souls. The pity which overflowed from his heart enveloped his discourses and penetrated them thoroughly. The saints, in spite of their rough appearance, are always full of unction. They know that the cause they are defending is won in the conscience, and that in order to find their way in this closed garden, both dexterity and sympathy are necessary.

Very often, in the same sermon, Bernardine assumed a tone of kindness and of compassion. He tried to reach the inmost recesses of the soul and he knew full well that, after grace, it could be done only by kindness. "Alas!" he exclaims, "if you could see the affection and the love of my heart, you would believe me." His heart overflowed with pity, charity, and sympathy as vast as the world.

Oh, my brethren and my fathers, love one another and embrace one another once more. If anyone has wronged you in the past, out of love for God forgive these injuries; let there be no hatred among you, that you may not be hated by God; love one another and prove it by words and by actions as Christ showed it to those who had offended Him.⁷²

When he addressed the Sienese, his tone became caressing.

Three things I want to remind you of, dearest children: I hold you as my children because you chose me as your father when you desired me for your bishop. The first thing is that which belongs to God. God has two arms, and with both He embraces the sinner who desires to return to Him. One arm is that of love, and the other that of fear. If you wish to be loved by Him you will be loved, and He will give you every prosperity.⁷³

When he recommended peace and concord, his entreaties were expressed with penetrating emotion.

O citizens, and you women, too, I beg you, I exhort you, and I command you as much as I can, to seek and maintain peace. To all I say, to the men and to the women: help me in the burdensome task that I have borne with such love and affection for your peace.⁷⁴

Bernardine cared for souls as Christ had. We can observe this love in every page of his sermons. What enticing appeals, what heartfelt cries, what irresistible appeals! This genuine eloquence is so pathetic at times, that, without doubt, the orator was then inspired by the Holy Ghost.

If effusions of kindness toward sinners, the poor, and the disinherited, abound everywhere, they become still more manifest when the Saint speaks

72. *Ibid.*, III, 189.

73. *Ibid.*, III, 499.

74. *Ibid.*, III, 390.

of his favorite subjects — the Passion of Christ, Devotion to the Holy Name of Jesus, the Glories of Mary, the edifying life of his Seraphic Father. Then he is no longer the doctor who teaches, or the moralist who censures; he is the mystic who externalizes the outbursts of his loving heart. As soon as he pronounces the Name of Jesus, he bursts into transports of compassion. "Noi ti rendiamo grazie a te, Cristo nostro signore, adorandolo e magnificandolo."⁷⁵ Or again:

The virtue of the Name of Jesus is so great that my words cannot express it. If all the grains of sand of the sea, if all the leaves of the trees, and all the stars of the heavens were as so many tongues to sing the praises of this Name, this praise would not be adequate because the Name of Jesus is from the very beginning. . . . O Name of Jesus, Name predestined since the creation of the sun until its decline, that is from the beginning of the world until the end of time! The Name of Jesus is as worthy of praise as the Name of God Himself. . . . If all the angels of Paradise, from the lowest choirs to the highest, if all men who are, who were, and who will be in the world, united to praise the Name of Jesus, that would not suffice.⁷⁶

How magnificently he describes the heavenly beatitudes, and depicts the raptures of paradise. At times he strolls with the angels, as if he were already with them in heaven. With what grace does he remind his hearers of the example of his Father St. Francis, and proclaims the glories of Mary whom he had, while a boy, chosen as his Lady.

It is difficult properly to appreciate St. Bernardine as a preacher. His written words remain. But his spoken words have vanished. The orator, in disappearing, is beyond criticism. As soon as his voice fades away, his powers of persuasion follow him into silence. Speech is life. How can we find in his recorded sermons the soul of the preacher, for it is his soul which speaks? This is true, above all, of Bernardine, whose words were as if inspired. His oratory is extemporaneous. In his books of sermons we have discourses to a popular audience which were not written beforehand. The vocabulary is not of the richest. There are many annoying digressions and numerous repetitions. Very often the orator begins a parenthesis, beats about the bush, and is obliged to recall himself to order: *a casa, a casa!* From this follows a sort of confusion, a lack of order which is detrimental to the perfection of the whole. Yet, except in the manner of exposition, these sermons have not become antiquated. Fr. Cuthbert Gumbinger has well shown that they inform us about the Italy of the Quattrocento.⁷⁷ They also give us precious information about Bernardine himself. They show us his soul filled with light and love. They show us his apostolic zeal and his free eloquence, the instinctive talents of his native psychology, and his gifts of observation. They show us the moralist — and he is a great one — who applies the remedy to the evils he denounces. They show us, lastly, the Saint who can admit in all humility and sincerity: "I have done all to the honor and glory of God, and for the good and salvation of souls."⁷⁸ Here Bernardine himself reveals the mainspring of

75. Cannarozzi, *loc. cit.*, I, 276.

76. *Ibid.*, II, 192.

77. FRANCISCAN STUDIES, Vol. 23 (N. S. Vol. 2), No. 1 (March, 1942).

78. Banchi, *loc. cit.*, III, 502.

his eloquence. With his irreproachable dignity, his subtle and sharp wit, his superior qualities of orthodoxy and equilibrium, his original character and unfailing good humour, which bring his true personality into evidence, St. Bernardine should be considered one of the glories of Christian oratory of the Quattrocento and of all times.

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ST. BERNARDINE, THE MORAL TEACHER

IF WE would appreciate St. Bernardine as the Moral Teacher, we must see him in action. We must rub shoulders with one of his Italian audiences, like that which thronged the Piazza of Santa Croce in Florence on April 9, 1424. In the center of the square there was a great wooden structure, the "Devil's Castle." Heaped up within it and dangling from its pillars and towers were all the instruments of sin surrendered by the repentant populace. "There were more than four hundred gaming tables," the old chronicler tells us, "several baskets full of dice, more than four thousand sets of playing cards old and new."¹ The women, too, had brought their false hair, rouge, perfumes, garlands, high-heeled shoes, mirrors, "and all their other abominations."

The Church and Piazza of Santa Croce were packed with several thousand townspeople and country people, both men and women. Bernardine was within the Church, preaching on those who stone Christ by their sins. "Love Hunted and Persecuted" was his theme.² Either the sermon or the sight of the "Devil's Castle" produced such a commotion among the audience that it was impossible for the preacher to proceed beyond his first point. There was no time, comments the chronicler,³ to speak of the other four stones which strike Christ. The tumult and the noise was tremendous. Bernardine stopped preaching. Coming forth into the Piazza with a procession of many friars, he gave the order to set fire to the castle.

You never saw such a beautiful fire [adds the chronicler]. The flames leaped high into the air to the utter confusion of the devil, and to the glory and honor of our Lord Jesus Christ. . . . I will not speak of the cries which seemed like thunder, or of the tender weeping which manifested great devotion.

Similar scenes took place at Perugia, Casale, Viterbo, Orvieto, and Siena.⁴ At Perugia in 1425, besides the gambling devices and vanities, such a heap of charms and spells and good luck pieces were brought that two castles were made. A large banner was made, on which was painted the image of Satan, the Lord of the Castle, the inventor and patron of these occasions of sin. The banner was placed on the top of one of the castles, and when this castle was set on fire, the force of the flames lifted it so high into the sky that it almost disappeared from sight. "And when his pride could go no higher, he fell from that height and landed on a house in the Piazza of Perugia."⁵

1. MS. in Bibliotheca Riccardiana (Florence), n. 1264, f. 92 va., cited by Salvatore Tosti, O. F. M., "Di Alcuni Codici delle Prediche di S. Bernardino da Siena," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum (AFH)*, XII (1919), 189.

2. "L'Amore Cacciato e Perseguitato." This must have been a sermon very similar to the one entitled "De Amore Fugiente," Sermo XXXIII of the Paduan series. Cf. *Sancti Bernardini Senensis Ordinis Minorum Opera Quae Extant Omnia . . . in Quatuor Tomos distincta*, ed. Petrus Rodolphus, Senogalliensis Episcopus (Venetiis apud Juntas, 1591) IV, 151-157. This work will be cited hereafter as *Opera Omnia*.

3. Tosti, *loc. cit.*

4. Dionisio Pacetti, O. F. M., "La Predicazione di S. Bernardino da Siena a Perugia e ad Assisi," *Collectanea Franciscana*, IX (1939), 518.

5. *La Franceschina o Specchio de l'Ordine Minore*, ed. Nicola Cavanna, 2 vols. (Olschki, Firenze, 1931) II, 375.

Although Bernardine's *Sermones Latini* contain treatises in Moral Theology which reveal him as a scholar, a theologian, a sociologist, as a moral teacher he had as his primary aim, not to write books, but to destroy sin. He was always a preacher, never a professor. He wanted action. He thought and wrote as a preacher. The materials with which a student of Bernardine deals are sermons. It is all but impossible to separate his moral teaching from its mode of presentation. It is almost doing violence to the subject to attempt to treat his thought as one might discuss the doctrine of St. Bonaventure or of Scotus. As Fr. Dionisio Pacetti, a lifelong student of St. Bernardine, says:

Even if it is possible to discuss the degree of originality in Bernardine's doctrinal thought [and this has been done by learned investigators of the sources from which Bernardine drew or could have drawn], still no one can doubt the astounding oratorical gifts and talents which made of him the *Princeps Oratorum* of the Fifteenth Century. In the pulpit in full contact with his audience — which shouts and weeps, laughs and waxes enthusiastic in unison with the holy preacher — Bernardine appears in all his true stature and incomparable greatness.⁶

This is not to deny Bernardine an important place in the history of Moral Theology. Cardinal d'Annibale links the names of Bernardine and John Capistran with that of Antonine of Florence, and states that the appearance of Antonine's *Summa Theologica* marks the real adolescence of modern Moral Theology.⁷ And the contemporary biographer of Bernardine, Vespasiano da Bisticci, also links Bernardine and Antonine, and explains the importance of both these men for the development of moral science.

Vices were multiplied in such a manner at this period that neither St. Thomas nor St. Bonaventure were adequate; there was a need for new writers, like St. Bernardine and Archbishop Antonine, who would write and free the world from its blindness.⁸

It is difficult to improve upon Vespasiano's statement of Bernardine's position as a moral teacher. His great value lay in applying traditional moral doctrines to his own day and age. He had a vivid appreciation of detail. For instance, he thus describes the home of the lazy bachelor who is too selfish to take a wife:

And then there's his bed. Do you know how he sleeps? He sleeps in a hole, and once he has put a sheet on the bed he takes it off only when it is ripped. It is exactly the same in the dining room; on the floor there are peelings from fruit, bones, scraps of salad; everything is left on the floor, and never swept away. How about the table? There's a cloth on the table, but it isn't taken off until it's moldy. He cleans the knives a little bit, and then the dog licks and washes them. The pots and pans are all greasy. They're a sight! Do you know how that man lives? He lives like a beast.⁹

6. S. Bernardino da Siena, *Le Prediche Volgari Inedite: Firenze, 1424, 1425 — Siena, 1425*, ed. Dionisio Pacetti, O. F. M., (*I Classici Cristiani*, n. 56), (Cantagalli, Siena, 1935), pp. 17-18. Selections from this work will be cited as Pacetti, *Le Prediche Volgari*, with page.

7. Josephus D'Annibale, *Summula Theologiae Moralis*, 4 edn., 3 vols. (Romae, 1896), I, 2.

8. *Vita di San Bernardino*, in Luciano Banchi, *Le Prediche Volgari di San Bernardino da Siena*, 3 vols. (Siena, 1880-1888), I, xxvi. These sermons will be cited hereafter as "Predica 1, 2," etc. with reference to Banchi, I, II, or III.

9. "Predica 19," Banchi, II, 119.

With his keen eye for facts, and his firm grasp of principles, Bernardine was able to bring moral teaching up to date. His hearers felt that he knew their lives thoroughly. His words were full of the wisdom of the Gospels and of the sages.

HIS PREPARATION

Bernardine's preparation for the apostolate was complete and well rounded. He possessed a vast legal knowledge, since he had been educated in the University of his native city and there heard the most famous jurists of the age. This study helped him in later years when he had to investigate and expound the moral aspects of contracts, usury, loans, and commerce. Bernardine was born in a period when Roman law was being remade. The great Italian jurists of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries knew how to take the art and science of Roman Law, and fit the age-old concepts to the new needs in the field of private and public law, and particularly in the field of commerce.

There in Italy [writes Salvatore Riccobono] a reconstruction of the law took place during the period when the commerce and industry of the Maritime Republics were expanding prodigiously and the Communes were dominating the markets of the world. It was in this period that there shone resplendent the names of Bartolus and Baldus, of Stracca and Casaregis, rivals indeed of the great Roman jurisconsults in the history of the formation of law.¹⁰

What these compatriots were doing for Civil Law, Bernardine was to do for Moral Theology.

Law was a tasteless subject to young Albizzeschi. According to Vespasiano da Bisticci, the three years he spent in studying Canon Law seemed to him a waste of time.¹¹ He turned with avidity to Theology, and spent day and night in acquiring a complete grasp of that sacred science. He based his preaching on the principles of the Gospel as interpreted by the Fathers and Doctors of the Church. Among the latter, he had special reverence for the greatest and most illustrious representatives of Scholasticism: Alexander of Hales, St. Bonaventure, St. Thomas, and Blessed John Duns Scotus.

Bernardine entered the order as a young man of twenty-two. There is no evidence that he attended the *Studium Generale* in the Convent of San Francesco in Siena.¹² Everything indicates that his scholastic training in Philosophy and Theology was completed before his novitiate. He was ordained one year after his profession. Realizing the need for a solid scientific preparation for preaching the Word of God to a society which had become all but pagan in its life and outlook, he took up the study of the works of the Fathers and Doctors, meditating upon these, and making their doctrines his own. He chose the most precious gems of thought from his reading and study, and gave them to his own age in order that it might experience the benefits of

10. "Il Diritto Romano in America," *Conferenze Washingtoniane del Riccobono Seminar of Roman Law della Catholic University of Washington* [sic] Anno 1937-1938, (Giuffrè, Milano, 1938), pp. 337-338.

11. *Vita*, in Banchi, I, xix.

12. Diomede Scaramuzzi, O. F. M., "La dottrina del B. G. Duns Scoto nella predicazione sociale di S. Bernardino da Siena," *Studi Francescani*, XXVI (1929), 219-222.

the religious, moral, and social redemption brought to the world by the Divine Master, Jesus Christ.

The use which Bernardine made of Scotus in his social preaching is shown by Scaramuzzi.¹³ One is inclined to agree with Emmerich Blondeel when he says that apart from the treatises on "Contracts" and "Restitution," only rarely is there a direct dependence on Scotus in Bernardine's moral teaching.¹⁴ Scaramuzzi, in turn, points out that it is inexact to say that Bonaventure was the supreme authority with Bernardine.¹⁵ He cites St. Thomas with the greatest respect, but in his moral teachings it is the *Summa* of Alexander of Hales which he uses most frequently. He found in this work an inexhaustible mine of observations and judgments with regard to the vices which ensnare the human heart. This was perhaps the fruit of the vast knowledge and experience which Alexander had obtained during his long period in the world before entering the Seraphic Order. He calls him *il nostro Allisandro Magno* — "Our Alexander the Great."¹⁶

Bernardine's reading and study are revealed chiefly by his sermons. The fact that he had access to certain works is also shown by the lists of volumes contained in the library at Siena,¹⁷ and by the books used by him and found in his cell when he died.¹⁸ The works most used by theologians in the Fifteenth Century may be discovered by reading the prologue of the *Summa Theologica* of St. Antonine of Florence.¹⁹ There he has a sort of bibliography, listing the main authorities which he uses in the course of his work. Besides the Scriptures and the ecclesiastical canons, Antonine quotes the Fathers and Doctors of the Church, especially Augustine, Jerome, Gregory, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Basil, Isidore, Bernard, and Anselm. From the pagan writers, he uses Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, and Seneca. In Theology St. Thomas is his master, and he also makes use of other writers of the Dominican School, like Albertus Magnus and Innocent V. From the Franciscan School, he cites Bonaventure, Richard of Middletown, Alexander of Hales, and Duns Scotus. In Canon Law he quotes, among others, Bernard of Pavia, Raymond of Pennafort, Hostiensis, Innocent IV, Uguccio, Joannes Andreae; in Civil Law, Bartholus and Baldus. St. Bernardine reveals a preference for almost identically the same authors. In one sermon²⁰ he quotes Augustine, Jerome, Gregory, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Isidore, Leo the Great, and Bernard; from the pagans, Virgil; from the Franciscan School, Bonaventure, Alexander of Hales; for Canon Law, Raymond, Uguccio, and Innocent IV.

Bernardine possessed, in addition to learning, experience of a high degree. His preparation for the apostolic life was rendered the more complete be-

13. Scaramuzzi, *loc. cit.*, pp. 215-257; 340-371.

14. "L'Influence D'Ubertin de Casale sur les Ecrits de S. Bernardin de Sienne," *Collectanea Franciscana*, V (1935), 6, note 2.

15. *Loc. cit.*, p. 219, note 1.

16. Cf., e.g., "Predica 26," Banchi, II, 304.

17. Scaramuzzi, *loc. cit.*, pp. 220-221; cf. especially the notes.

18. Dionisio Pacetti, O. F. M., "I Codici Autografi di S. Bernardino da Siena della Vaticana e della Comunale di Siena," *AFH*, XXVII (1934), 225-232.

19. "Prologus," no pagination, B. *Antonini Archiepiscopi Florentini*, O. P., *Summae Sacrae Theologiae, Iuris Pontificii et Caesariei*, 4 vols. (Venetiis apud Juntam et Soc., 1571).

20. "Sermo XV," *Opera Omnia*, II, 143-148.

cause of the profound knowledge he had of the social conditions of his time. He did not enter the order as a callow youth, and so was not unacquainted with any other life than that of silent Franciscan cloisters. He had been a University student, feeling the full tide of the pulsating life about him, and acquiring a keen understanding of men and things. This initial knowledge was broadened and perfected in the apostolic journeys which took him up and down the Italian peninsula, and brought him into contact with every class of society.

SINS OF THE AGE

The Fifteenth Century was the age of the Renaissance, and if we would see Bernardine's work in its proper setting we must glance at the society which he aimed to reform. It is true that

we must not allow ourselves to take the descriptions of poets, satirists, novelists, and preachers too literally; they almost all generalize unduly, and exaggerate, and judgments founded on such sources are sure to be more or less mistaken, but there can be no doubt that, side by side with the many good elements in Italian society in the Fifteenth Century, there was also a terrible amount of evil.²¹

Bernardine's description of the sins of Siena gives us a complete, if sad, picture.

The devil has blinded you in your wickedness, O Siena, and you seem to have peace, but you are full of hate. And therefore I say to you, if you do not make peace with God, you cannot make peace among yourselves. Don't you see that you do not know God because you are blind, and not knowing God you can know nothing that is good for you? Since you are bereft of the knowledge of God, you can't help falling into vices and sins. You are taken up with nothing but thefts, usury, cheating, perfidy, plunder, luxury, sodomy, blasphemy, party-strife, and arrogance; justice is gone; right is put down and wrong is exalted.²²

Checking this list against the statements of discerning historians, we discover that the mode of expression only, and not the substance, is rhetorical. Pastor finds it difficult to determine just what percentage of the population was infected with these vices, but it is indisputable that the poisonous influence of the worst exponents of pagan Humanism was widely diffused.²³ The statute books of almost every town in Italy contain enactments against luxury and extravagance in dress, especially among women. Some families were brought to utter ruin by their prodigality and luxury. Usury and fraud went hand in hand with the wealth and commerce which all this luxury required for its support. Immorality increased to a terrible extent during the age of the Renaissance; and, especially among the cultivated and higher classes, revolting excesses were common. Moral corruption led to religious indifference and blasphemous references to the most sacred truths of faith. The rage for the antique drew many to revive the superstitions of the ancient world, especially astrology. The princes of the time set the worst example for immorality, cunning, cruelty, and injustice. Machiavelli's *Prince* marks the culminating point of the pagan Renaissance, which, had it succeeded,

21. Ludwig von Pastor, *History of the Popes*, v (ed. Antrobus), (Herder, St. Louis, 1923), 118-119.

22. "Predica 35," Banchi, III, 152.

23. *Op. cit.*, V, 97-174.

would have been the ruin of Italy. Into this welter of vice, Bernardine stepped, holding aloft the monogram of the Holy Name, leading the multitudes back to the Heart of Christ.

PARTICULAR PHASES OF HIS MORAL TEACHING

In discussing particular phases of Bernardine's moral teaching, it probably will be advantageous to consider a few general topics fundamental to Moral Theology. For this purpose I have singled out for consideration, conscience, habit, and ignorance. Then after a brief survey of some moral evils common to every age, some space will be devoted to the moral problems of peace, marriage, government, and social justice which were vital problems in his day, as they are in ours.

I. CONSCIENCE

In treating conscience Bernardine discusses its nature, the blessings of a good conscience, the evils of a bad conscience.²⁴ He does not draw a scientific distinction between the remotely practical and the proximately practical judgment, but, like a popular preacher, he simply defines conscience as a deliberate and firm judgment concerning what one is obliged to do or not to do. In his description of the excessively timorous conscience he uses the example of imagined disrespect to a cross of straw, which was later made famous by St. Ignatius in his "rules concerning scruples." Such a one sees sin where there is no sin.

In this vivid and lively piece of dialogue, he describes, and explains what is faulty with, an over-tender conscience.

Take the example of one who goes to confession, and after telling his sins says, with many sobs, "Father, I have another sin which is so big and serious that I haven't the courage to tell you." The priest says, "My son, tell everything courageously because God is ready to pardon all the sins of those who repent of having committed them; and if there is only one sin which you don't confess, God doesn't forgive the others. So speak out bravely and don't be afraid. . . ." He says, "I spit in church once during Mass, and didn't rub it out with my foot." The priest asks, "Is this the big sin?" "Yes," he says. The priest says, "That's not so big as you think. We spit there ourselves." Of such as these David has said: "They shake with fear where there is no fear." This isn't conscience as we have described it above: this is fear of conscience.²⁵

Of the beauty and desirability of a good conscience, he has this to say:

A good conscience is just like a little jewel casket which you women have when you get married (I mean the little one, not those big ones). You know that in it you keep your rings and pearls and jewels and other such things; sometimes one of his love letters. You fill it with perfume and spices, so that when it is opened a sweet odor pervades the house. You lock it with a key which no one keeps but you. In a like way, God has made His own jewel case. In it He puts the ring of faith, the pearls of confirmation, the other jewels of good thoughts. We receive His letter when we are in love with Him and go to church to hear Mass. Then we hear the Epistle and Gospel. When we go to the sermon, the Holy Scriptures

24. Pacetti, *Le Prediche Volgari*, pp. 407-419; see also "Sermo LII," *Opera Omnia*, II, 521, 534.

25. Pacetti, *Le Prediche Volgari*, pp. 409-410.

are explained and we learn the commandments of the law, and the articles of faith, and all the things we are bound to do. The perfume and spices are the good acts of fasting, almsgiving, and prayer, so that when your conscience is opened nothing comes forth but what is good. The key is confession and Communion, because if you go to confession and Communion often you fall into sin less frequently. Then God locks the jewel case of your conscience. He holds the key Himself, which means that you are always thinking of Him. The accursed devil can't open this jewel case, and if you say, "The devil is clever. He knows how to make keys!," I will teach you something: place a sign there, and I promise that he will not enter. Make the Sign of the Cross, and I promise that you will always be safe. . . . The treasure of a good conscience is worth so much that I don't think any of you here could buy it, not even you rich widows. I'll put it stronger: not all your money together, not all the money in this world, can buy a good conscience.²⁶

On the other hand,

a bad conscience produces external signs of a dissolute life (though no one should be quick to judge rashly); a bad conscience is the temple of shame, the field of malediction, the garden of evils, the chamber of anxiety and bitterness, the joy of demons, the casket of fraud, the treasure of the king of Babylon, the hall of Satan, the dwelling place of evil spirits, the book closed and sealed and full of vices which will be opened on the day of judgment to the immense confusion of the sinner.²⁷

Each one of these twelve points is fully developed.

II. IGNORANCE

The sermon on ignorance, "Sermo XXI" of the series *De Evangelio Aeterno*,²⁸ is a good example of classical material written in Latin, which St. Bernardine never rendered as it is recorded. The sermon treats of natural ignorance which is a human defect and no fault of our own: we are ignorant of the past and of the future, of things above us and things beneath us, of the secrets of hearts and even of the state of our own conscience (since the Apostle says no one knows whether he is worthy of love or hate); finally — in order to preserve the number seven — the Saint reminds us that no one knows everything.²⁹

Next Bernardine treats of ignorance as an impediment to human action: *ignorantia juris et facti*. Besides the usual divisions of ignorance into invincible, simply vincible, crass, and affected, Bernardine speaks of the responsibility of insane persons who have lucid intervals. And once more he secures his sevenfold division by discussing "holy" ignorance which exists in one who avoids the knowledge of things dangerous, and "perverse" ignorance which is an intensification of affected ignorance.³⁰ In this section the influence of the *Summa* of Alexander of Hales³¹ is very marked, though St. Bonaventure is also quoted.

26. *Ibid.*, pp. 413-414.

27. *Opera Omnia*, II, 528-534.

28. *Opera Omnia*, II, 184-191.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 185.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 188.

31. Especially Inq. III, Tract. II, Sect. I, Quaest. II, Tit. I, cap. VIII, *Alexandri de Hales Summa Theologica*, 3 vols. (Coll. S. Bonaventurae, Quaracchi, 1930), III (Secunda Pars Secundi Libri), 330-331.

The third section, which treats of the evils of ignorance, provides material more to the taste of a preacher.

In the Lenten course at Florence in 1425, Bernardine's introductory discourse developed six of the seven points contained in the third article of his Latin sermon. The Saint would agree with the words of Pius X, "The greatest enemy of Christ is ignorance of Christ." Ignorance, he says, is the occasion of all the evils in the world, the occasion of all the wars, and plagues, and sickness. Ignorance begets spiritual poverty, senseless, and brutality. it blinds, ruins, and enslaves the soul. The preacher, then, uses ignorance as a general heading under which he groups his Lenten topics:

Today we will speak of ignorance of the law of abstinence. Thursday we will speak about ignorance of almsgiving; Friday, about ignorance of fraternal charity; Saturday, about our social relationships and ignorance of bad companions.³²

III. BAD HABITS

Bernardine's sermon on bad habits is interesting not only because of its content, but also because of the various forms in which it has come down to us. He preached on this topic at Florence in 1424,³³ at Florence³⁴ and Siena in 1425,³⁵ and at Padua in 1443.³⁶ The general outline of the sermon is the same in all cases, but the choice of details and the mode of presentation are quite different. A study of these four renditions of the same topic gives one an idea of how Bernardine handled his material.

After describing the beginning and the growth of a bad habit, the Saint lists seven remedies for evil habits.³⁷ His recommendations are:

1. Pray.
2. Be courageously determined.
3. Avoid the occasions.
4. Abominate the vice.
5. Resist the beginnings.
6. Practise the opposite virtue.
7. Keep good company.

He always begins by recommending prayer. Then he urges his hearers to confident determination.

Take heart. Be courageous. Think of Mary Magdalen, a great sinner who took courage and went to Christ. She said to herself: "I have been resolute in doing evil: why can't I have the same determination in doing good and in going to Him Who can help me?" She took courage and went to the feet of Jesus and began to weep for her sins.

"Develop magnanimity!" is another way in which he puts this same point. "Think of God, of heaven, and of yourself. Ask yourself, 'What am I doing

32. Pacetti, *Le Prediche Volgari*, pp. 213-214.

33. Tosti, "Di Alcuni Codici di S. Bernardino," *AFH*, XII (1919), 225-231.

34. Tosti, *loc. cit.*, pp. 231-240; the same sermon from a different MS is contained in Pacetti, *Le Prediche Volgari*, pp. 215-239. The great differences between the two texts show the liberty taken by the copyists in reporting Bernardine's words.

35. Tosti, *loc. cit.*, pp. 241-253.

36. *Opera Omnia*, IV, 62-67.

37. Pacetti's text (see note 34) is followed unless otherwise noted.

in this depth of degradation? I was made for the glory of eternal life."³⁸

Thirdly, St. Bernardine tells his hearers to avoid the occasions of their habitual sin.

The dog runs away from sticks and stones because he sees that these harm him. In the same way you should flee evil occasions. That's why Christ says: "If thy eye scandalize thee, pluck it out and cast it from thee." He doesn't want you to take your eye out of your head. No. But if something scandalizes you, flee from that occasion. . . . God helps those who help themselves. If you do your part in avoiding temptation, God will help you with His grace.³⁹

In urging his hearers to develop an abomination for the vice which enslaves them, Bernardine shows a fine blending of natural and supernatural motives. To the adulteress, the sodomite, the usurer, the gambler, and the drunkard, he points out the temporal and eternal evils to which they expose themselves. He tells them to meditate on the harm and shame that come to them from the habit which they think it impossible to shake off. For instance:

Here is a woman who is involved with a man. She can't give him up. Have you a husband? Then, consider that you are in danger of having your throat cut. Think of the blame to which you are subject, and of the loss of your reputation. Your friend tells one of his companions about his affair; that man tells his wife; she tells her neighbor, and so one tells the other until everybody knows it. He swore to you that he'd never tell, and you think that nobody knows. Why, when you go out, they're pointing at you behind your back. . . . Remember the risk you run that your daughters will never be married, because others will think them illegitimate. Reflect that you are putting your soul in peril of eternal damnation.

To the sodomite he says:

Think what a fine family you would have and how loved and respected you would be, if you would give up your vice. Reflect a bit that your soul, now grown old and hardened in this sin, is in the hands of the devil. . . . Think of the expense you incur and the money you throw away in misery. And you, young rascal and thief, look at the wretched vileness to which you subject yourself: God made you a man, and the devil makes you a woman.

To the gambler:

And you, gambler! What good are you! You are good for nothing but gambling and blaspheming. Think that your life is worthless and your death would be more useful and honorable for your family than your life. Reflect that if you would give up gambling, you would associate with good men and would be esteemed for something, and you would have those offices and honors which you lose now because of your evil life.

If you are a drunkard, think of what drunkenness is, and how many evil results follow from it for body and soul; think of what a shame it is for you and your family, and reflect that you lose the use of your reason and your senses and live in mortal sin.⁴⁰

The fifth remedy against a bad habit is to begin to combat it immediately, and not to wait until it has become deeply ingrained. *Principiis obsta*, he says, quoting Ovid.

When you chastise your child from his earliest years, you bring him up well; if you don't chastise him then, when he is big he'll want to have his own way. You

38. Tosti, *loc. cit.*, p. 229.

39. Cf. *Opera Omnia*, IV, 66.

40. *Opera Omnia*, IV, 67.

can bend a green branch as you please, but when it's dried out you can't bend it. You can break in a young colt, but never an old horse!

The practice of the opposite virtue is Bernardine's sixth remedy, and under this heading he drives home a valuable psychological point by telling the story of St. Bernard and the fat Cardinal who was such a glutton that he could not bring himself to do penance. St. Bernard said to him, "I want you to avoid gluttony three days, for the love of God." The Cardinal did it. "Now," said St. Bernard, "I want you to abstain three days more for the love of the Blessed Virgin." He did that, too. "Well," said St. Bernard, "keep it up another three days for the love of the Apostles." Finally, the Saint said to the Cardinal, "Have you the heart to avoid gluttony from now on?" "Yes," said the prelate, "I have proved to myself that I'm able to do it; I'll make my peace with God and avoid the vice of gluttony." In the Latin text of the Paduan sermon,⁴¹ he gives the same advice without the story: "If you are inclined to impurity, resolve to avoid the sin for eight days, then for another eight days. Keep this up, and you will see that in a short time you will become chaste. And even if you fall, persevere as well as you are able, and you will soon be free from the habit."

The final remedy is good environment. Usually he is content to point out that our habits depend to a great extent on our associates, and that the companionship of the good is a great help in the practice of virtue. In the Paduan sermon he says that in some cases a complete reformation of life and an entire change of environment are necessary.

For some it is almost impossible to avoid vice by remaining in the world. Seek out a group of good and holy religious who live in the fear of God. . . . If you are inclined to be a drinker, they will give you drink in moderation; if you are inclined to be lustful, they will give you the remedy of fasts and vigils and disciplines. Don't believe, as many do, that religious have a good time with the things of the flesh. If they live as they ought, the least temptation they have is the temptation of the flesh, and the biggest trial they have (believe it or not) is to learn how to get along with one another because there are so many different characters. Some are gloomy and some are gay, some are old and some are young; and you have to adapt yourself to the natures of all — which is very difficult unless a man is prudent.⁴²

PARTICULAR MORAL OBLIGATIONS

Turning now to St. Bernardine's treatment of particular moral obligations, we find that in his various Lenten sermons he treated virtually all the topics *De Praeceptis* or *De Virtutibus* which modern textbooks of Moral Theology contain. He also discusses Matrimony, the Holy Eucharist, and Penance from the viewpoint of the recipient of these sacraments. His treatment of the other sacraments is incidental; as one might expect of a popular preacher, his moral doctrine *De Sacramentis* is incompletely recorded. Fr. Cuthbert Gumbinger's recent survey of Bernardine's unedited Italian sermons⁴³ reveals with great

41. *Ibid.*

42. *Ibid.*, p. 67.

43. "St. Bernardine's unedited *Prediche Volgari*," FRANCISCAN STUDIES, XXV (1944), 7-33.

clarity that he spoke of all vices and virtues, of punishment and glory. His Latin sermons reveal the same thing. He treated all the Commandments of God and of the Church, as well as the duties of Faith, Hope, and Charity.

Bernardine insisted on the duties of fasting and almsgiving, Sunday Mass, and fraternal correction. He inveighed against vanity and superstition, gambling and perjury. An investigation of any of these topics would yield abundant results. As a choice must be made from among his many moral and social doctrines, it seems best to examine the way in which St. Bernardine met four of the major problems of his day. In almost every city of Italy the Fifteenth-Century preacher was faced with the task of establishing peace and unity, of securing the family against the ravages of impurity, of stressing the mutual duties of rulers and citizens, and of solving new problems of commutative justice which the breakdown of feudalism and the rise of a new social order had created. It is no distortion of history to say that these Fifteenth-Century problems were quite similar to those of the present day. A systematic summary of modern papal pronouncements shows that the Popes regard the problems of peace, the family, the state, and the social order, as the great issues of the Twentieth Century.⁴⁴ The evils of Bernardine's day and ours differ in their concrete manifestations, but the moral principles governing their solution are the same.

I. PEACE

During his preaching career St. Bernardine spoke repeatedly in the interests of peace and harmony between the warring factions of the Italian City States. The party strife which rent these cities had its origin back in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries during the struggle between the Papacy and the Empire. The Emperor stood for feudalism and foreign domination; his supporters were Ghibellines. The Papacy represented Italian national feeling; its supporters were the Guelphs. The history of Bernardine's native Siena is typical of that of most Italian cities. At the end of the Thirteenth Century the city was ruled by a Council of fifteen Guelph merchants. Ghibelline nobles fomented seditions of butchers, doctors, and notaries, hoping to dislodge the merchants and middle class. These, however, remained in power until 1355, when the nobles and common people rose against the merchants and formed a mixed government consisting of twelve commoners, twelve nobles, and a Council of four hundred.

During Bernardine's boyhood a *Visconti* was proclaimed Lord of Siena. In the Fifteenth Century various lords succeeded one another as tyrants, and among the populace there were tumults caused by the struggle for a share in the government.⁴⁵ The names, Guelph and Ghibelline, no longer retained their original significance, but around them there remained ancient and murderous hates between families and factions, which were passed on from generation to generation as a sad inheritance. Nowhere is Bernardine more ter-

44. Cf., e.g., Philip Hughes, *The Pope's New Order* (Macmillan, New York, 1944).

45. Ubaldo Benigni, *sub verbo* "Siena," *Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York, 1911), XIII, 780.

rifying in his condemnations than when he speaks *adversus partialitates*. At first, one is astounded at his rigor: "Whoever merely consents in his heart to be Guelph or Ghibelline sins mortally, and if he dies in this state he will be condemned to eternal torments."⁴⁶ There is no leeway: whether it exist in heart, in word, or in deed, the party spirit is the ruin of cities.

Bernardine's severity becomes understandable when we read his description of the evils caused by party strife.

Factions cause the ruin of commerce, art, science, religious institutes, and ecclesiastical worship. For the sake of a party a wife will betray her husband; women kill one another, and help men in the destruction and death of others. In a country torn by divisions no one can escape the taint of the party spirit. . . . Men will receive Holy Communion together, with the intention of betraying one another; and, if they are able, they will carry out this intention. Crops are burned, herds are wiped out, land is ruined. Virgins are violated and nuns are subjected to sacrilege. . . . O who can enumerate the evils and crimes and wickedness which have their origin and growth, as well as their horrible and detestable end, in party strife!⁴⁷

One cannot help being struck by the prophetic vision of Bernardine when he condemned the divisions as portending the ruin of great cities and of all Italy. He cries out the triple "Woe!" of the Apocalypse, threatening with the sentence of spiritual, temporal, and eternal damnation.⁴⁸ Italy was the center of commerce, industry, banking, and culture. Still he unhesitatingly predicts: "Every kingdom divided against itself shall perish, and house upon house shall fall." We are so used to an Italy which has experienced the fulfilment of Bernardine's prophecy that it is hard to picture the wealth and power of the Italian cities of that age. Florence and Genoa were so rich that with their accumulated financial reserves they were able to live in an afterglow of prosperity and exert power in the early modern period, long after their commercial greatness had perished.⁴⁹

At Siena in 1427 Bernardine declared that Italy would be the happiest place on earth if it were not for the curse of divisions.⁵⁰ His words were surely wise. The strife between the masters and the journeymen, against which he preached, caused the latter to leave Italy, and carry craft- and trade-secrets into the north. There they built up the competition which eventually undermined the Italian markets. In another sermon at Siena he compared the cities and towns of Italy to the ships of a fleet; some are great galleons, some are smaller craft, others are little skiffs and gondolas. United, they are invincible; but divided, there is none of them so great that it cannot be overcome.⁵¹

Although Bernardine's apostolate could not wipe out the spirit of disunity and strife which was threatening the security and independence of Italy, still his mission of peace was often marvelously successful. At Assisi in the autumn of 1425 he succeeded in bringing about a reconciliation between

46. "Sermo XXV," *Opera Omnia*, II, 230.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 235.

48. *Ibid.*, p. 230.

49. Cf. Tschan, Grimm, Squires, *Western Civilization* (Lippincott, New York, 1942), p. 576.

50. "Predica 11," Banchi, I, 276.

51. "Predica 15," Banchi, I, 384-385.

many who had been at enmity for a long time.⁵² At Belluno in the dominion of Venice he effected the abolition of internal strife after all the might of Venice had failed. In a sermon at Assisi he himself said that Belluno, "by the grace of God gave up its divisions as a result of my sermons."⁵³

In the same sermon at Assisi he says:

In Piedmont, in the city of Casale, I preached on party strife. There were twelve parties in that place. And why was this? Because once there had been two separate communities. But when Frederick Barbarossa destroyed Milan, he also wasted the territory about Casale, and he permitted a community whose town was destroyed to dwell in Casale. Each of these communities had six parties apiece, since the Guelphs and Ghibellines in both places were divided into three factions. Now, by the grace of God, they are so united and linked together that it is wonderful. They burned the old party books and enacted penal statutes against anyone who would speak of the old factions.⁵⁴

Bernardine was equally successful at Perugia, and in a sermon there, he declared that throughout all Lombardy he found just one individual who refused to make peace.⁵⁵ According to Pastor,⁵⁶ the reconciliations effected by Bernardine and the other preachers of his time seem, on the whole, to have been adhered to, even after the enthusiasm caused by the sermons had subsided; and in such cases the memory of the friar was blessed for many generations.

II. MATRIMONY AND THE FAMILY

Bernardine had good reason for preaching on Matrimony and against the vices which threatened the sanctity of marriage and the family. If the horrible vice of sodomy had not made its way into all ranks of society, some of the Saint's words would, frankly, have been insulting to his audiences. He tells the Sieneese that if he were the father of a family in their city, he would take his boys at the age of three and send them outside Italy until they were at least forty, because Italy is so corrupted with the damnable vice of sodomy.⁵⁷ The scourge that birth control is in our day, that sodomy was in the Fifteenth Century. "Anyone," says Banchi,⁵⁸ "who is shocked by the bold but honest words of St. Bernardine, is ignorant of history and of the great good which the Saint effected by his preaching." In his Latin sermon against the vice, Bernardine (following St. Augustine) calls such sinners murderers. For they say to God:

"You have created male and female so that the human race may be multiplied, but we aim at the diminution and destruction of the human race." Therefore human nature abhors this crime, because as far as it can, it seeks to destroy the human race. If all men were sodomites, who would be born? . . . Not only are they mur-

52. Pacetti, "La Predicazione di S. Bernardino da Siena a Perugia e ad Assisi nel 1425," *Collectanea Franciscana*, IX (1929), 505.

53. *Loc. cit.*, p. 518.

54. *Loc. cit.*, p. 517.

55. *Loc. cit.*, p. 518.

56. *Op. cit.*, V, 179.

57. "Predica 39," Banchi, III, 179.

58. I, 135, note 4.

derers, but they slaughter their own children. Hence, they must give an account to God of those children who would have been born if this crime had not been committed.⁵⁹

In virtually every sermon on Matrimony, the Saint mentions this abuse, sometimes with arguments, anecdotes, and illustrations which one hesitates to translate. In this regard we must remember that he counsels preachers never to overstep the limits of decency; but his age was less reticent than ours.

Bernardine, of course, is not content with condemning the degradation of wedlock. He exalts the dignity of the sacrament, and tries with all his oratorical powers to foster mutual love between husbands and wives.⁶⁰

III. RELATIONS BETWEEN RULERS AND CITIZENS

In marked contrast with Savonarola, Bernardine never descended to political polemics. He remained in his pulpit with one word for all, rich and poor, merchant and laborer, governors and governed. Because of this very detachment, all sought his advice. When he preached in the public squares of cities, the rulers of the Commune ("our magnificent Signors,"⁶¹ he calls them) were present in their robes of office. Nearly every Lenten course included a sermon on the duties of princes.⁶²

As Scaramuzzi shows,⁶³ Bernardine reduces all the duties of those in authority to one great duty which includes all others, namely, justice. The prince must be the custodian of justice, without which it is impossible to govern. He cites these words of St. Augustine: "Without justice, what is government but organized robbery?" Justice must be vigorous in the sense that vice must be repressed, crimes punished, good customs introduced and confirmed. It is vital that justice be tempered with mercy, but this must never degenerate into sentimental softness which would pardon obstinate heretics, blasphemers, usurers, corrupters of youth. Since a measure of republicanism still survived, St. Bernardine often referred to the duty of voting and the responsibility it involved. He warned against casting a vote for a public sinner. He pointed out the individual and corporate guilt of a Commune which tolerates or encourages usurers.⁶⁴

"Sermon 25" of the series preached at Siena in 1427, is full of wise directions concerning the relations of those who govern and the governed.⁶⁵ Since the sermon was preached to the general public, certain phrases of the Saint indicate that the populace had quite a share in the government still. He urges them to use their rights with a manly independence. First, he condemns ambition. The ambitious politician strangles justice; he makes himself high and mighty at the expense of widows, orphans, and the poor. Likewise, the flatterer is the enemy of the common good. Rulers seldom hear the truth be-

59. "Sermo XV," *Opera Omnia*, II, 143.

60. Cf., e.g., "Prediche 19, 20, 21," Banchi, II, 85-172.

61. "I nostri magnifici Signori," Banchi, I, 28.

62. Cf. "Sermo XVI, De Regimine Principum," *Opera Omnia*, II, 149-159.

63. "La dottrina del B. G. Duns Scoto nella predicazione morale, ascetico-mistica di S. Bernardino da Siena," *Studi Francescani*, XXVII (1930), 109-113.

64. "Predica 35," Banchi, III, 146-147.

65. Banchi, II, 270-302.

cause all seek to curry their favor. "It seems to me that you have all sworn never to speak the truth if it's unpleasant. But, citizens, when you are in the Palazzo, tell the truth and never speak merely to please the rulers."⁶⁶

The judges come in for their share of condemnation.

Oh, how much evil can be done by a false judge! Do you know why? Because he knows every evil trick, and every way to carry it out. In so many places I have heard the complaint that when a lawsuit is commenced it is never finished; there is no end of trials and pleading. If you but knew how God hates this! And what comes of all this litigation? Nothing but expense. The judge gives a ruling; he assigns a date for the hearing; someone is accused of contempt; there is a postponement; a new date is assigned; "nego, insto, probo." More time is given to the official, and meanwhile he dies. . . . Everything must be begun all over again before the new official. Nothing results but expense; and the one in the right is wronged.⁶⁷

That this form of preaching on the duties of rulers and citizens was well received, can be seen from the statutes which various cities adopted in order to carry out Bernardine's recommendations. The best known of these are the *Statuti di San Bernardino* which were promulgated for the city of Perugia, November 4, 1425.⁶⁸ This document shows the enormous spiritual success which the Saint achieved, and gives an indication of the themes which he treated and the questions upon which he insisted with most vehemence. The statutes contain articles on blasphemy, gambling, sodomy, usury, street fights, and dancing in church. These crimes were severely punished. In fact the penalties seem excessively rigorous, but the laws were so effective that two years later at Siena, Bernardine could sing the praises of a reformed Perugia.⁶⁹

IV. SOCIAL JUSTICE

During the greater part of the Middle Ages most of the population of Western Europe was engaged in the old and unchanging pursuit of agriculture. The medieval approach to economic problems was through anti-usury legislation and the doctrine of the "just price." All interest on loans was considered to be (as indeed it generally was) usury. What commerce there was, existed for the satisfaction of elementary human needs; and Canon Law insisted on justice in commercial exchange.

The age of St. Bernardine ushered in a period of expanding industry and commerce. Social and economic conditions were changing rapidly. The financial and business outlook of Fifteenth-Century Florence or Siena was very different from that of the small town or village which the framers of medieval economic doctrine had in mind. Payment in kind was disappearing, and a money-economy was coming into vogue. The need of ready money on the part of small traders and craftsmen created a need for a reconsideration of the teaching on usury. The increased opportunities for acquiring great wealth

66. *Ibid.*, p. 277.

67. *Ibid.*, p. 281.

68. Antonius Fantozzi, O. F. M., "Documenta Perusina de S. Bernardino Senensi," *AFH*, XV (1922), 103-154, esp. 108-129.

69. "Predica 4": "E dicoti, che fra quante [città] io n'ho mai trovate, io n'ho trovata una siconda al mio cuore; e sai quale è? La città di Perugia. . . ." (Banchi, I, 97).

tempted merchants to avarice and injustice, and called for a fresh insistence upon the "just price" together with concrete and up-to-date applications of the ageless moral principles. Bernardine discussed most of the economic questions of the day in his sermons, particularly in the series on contracts and on restitution. Indeed, the sermons on restitution constitute a true treatise, comparable with the best works of modern manualists, and eminently worthy of a new translation equipped with such notes as would make it applicable to present-day conditions.

In dealing with anti-usury legislation, Bernardine had a tendency to be conservative. He was "stricter than Archbishop Antonine [of Florence]," writes Vespasiano da Bisticci.⁷⁰ Usury was the great economic evil of the Fifteenth Century. The exactions of the money lenders brought indescribable misery into the lives of the poor. The usurer, declares St. Bernardine, "is the murderer of the poor man; he takes away his garments, shoes, house, field, bed, food and drink, and all his livelihood."⁷¹ It is understandable, therefore, that Bernardine was slow to admit that any gain could be realized on a money loan. He cautiously grants that in the case of state loans (like those loans floated by Venice and Florence), a citizen might take interest if he is forced to lend his money, or if he lends out of a motive of patriotism; if, however, he buys the bonds solely for the sake of gain, his action is usurious.⁷²

Despite this conservative trend in the Saint's economic thinking, he was progressive enough to agree with St. Antonine that the changed state of industry and commerce justified at times the taking of interest on a money loan, by reason of the title of *lucrum cessans*. If, he says, one is asked to lend 100 ducats with which he intended to engage in trade, he is not a usurer if he asks the borrower to pay him what he would have gained in trade, because he lends not merely his money but his "capital."⁷³

The *Montes Pietatis* which combatted the evils of usury so effectively, were not founded until some eighteen years after the death of St. Bernardine. However, his vigorous denunciations of usury paved the way for their establishment. Without definitely attributing the idea of the *Montes* to Bernardine of Siena, Fr. Holzapfel justly concludes that the great popular orators of the Fifteenth Century, such as St. John Capistran, St. Bernardine of Siena, St. James of the Marches, thought out practical means of rescuing the people from usury and discussed these matters among themselves;⁷⁴ and Piero Compostella notes that the foundation of the *Montes Pietatis* must be regarded as a collective work of the Franciscan Order, the result of a living current of ideas which found realization at Perugia where the first *Mons* was founded in 1462.⁷⁵

70. *Vita*, Banchi, I, xxv.

71. Sermo XLIV," *Opera Omnia*, II, 435, 436.

72. "Sermo XLI, De Impositis Venetorum et de Monte Florentinorum," *Opera Omnia*, II, 390-410.

73. "Quia non tradit sibi solam simplicis pecuniae rationem, sed etiam tradit sibi capitale suum..." ("Sermo XLII," *Opera Omnia*, II, 416).

74. Heribert Holzapfel, O. F. M., "Le Origini dei Monti di Pietà (1462-1515)," *La Verna*, I (1903-1904), 609.

75. Piero Compostella, "Cenni Intorno All' Origine dei Monti di Pietà," *Studi Francescani*, XXXIV (1937), 307.

St. Bernardine's Latin sermon "De Mercatoribus"⁷⁶ is divided into two main sections. In the first, he discusses the lawfulness of business; in the second, he enumerates the abuses which render business sinful. There are seven circumstances which render trade and commerce illicit. The first is the circumstance of person: clerics may not engage in business. The second is the circumstance of purpose: laymen may trade provided their motive is not tainted with avarice. The third and fourth are the circumstances of time and place: it is not lawful to do business on Sundays and holydays, or in sacred places. Fifthly and sixthly, a businessman may not discriminate against strangers, or do business to the detriment of the common good. The seventh circumstance, that of manner, is elaborately subdivided into three parts, each containing seven abuses common among merchants. This sermon sets forth a veritable code for the Christian merchant which has been summarized by Sticco in the following "Ten Commandments for Businessmen":⁷⁷

1. Do not transact business on Sundays and holydays.
2. Sell your wares with equal justice to strangers and to local people.
3. Do not transact business to the detriment of the common good.
4. Beware of lies, oaths, duplicity, and every kind of cheating.
5. Use just measures.
6. Observe agreements.
7. Do not sell dearer, or buy cheaper, than the just price.
8. Do not raise the price for one who is compelled to postpone payment.
9. Choose a pious and learned confessor.
10. Do not stay away too far from your wife.

The Italian sermon preached at Siena in 1427 covers virtually the same ground as the Latin sermon on merchants.⁷⁸ One difference is that the Saint speaks only of eighteen abuses common among merchants, instead of the twenty-one enumerated in the Latin text. He vividly describes how a tradesman short-changes simple folk, bewildering them with the speed with which he counts out their money: "— to' to' to' to', uno, due, tre, cinque, sette, otto, dieci, tredici, quattordici, dicessette, dicenove e vinti."

And the poor old lady, who is not so sharp as you, believes that the amount is what you say and takes what you give her. She goes home and begins to count it penny for penny, and then she finds that she has been cheated out of three soldi. She goes back to the one who gave her the money and says, "When I got home with the money you gave me and counted it, I found I was short three soldi." Then they generally say, "Didn't you make a mistake in counting?" "No," she says, "you didn't give me the right change. For the love of God, give it to me!" Then the merchant says, "O look around where it might have fallen. Perhaps there was a hole in your purse." And so the poor woman is cheated. Do you think this is pleasing to God? Certainly not. "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's goods," is one of the Commandments; and another is, "Thou shalt not steal." This is theft, that robs from her who is utterly unable to help herself.⁷⁹

76. "Sermo XXXIII," *Opera Omnia*, II, 310-321.

77. Cf. Scaramuzzi, "La dottrina del B. G. Scoto nella predicazione sociale di S. Bernardino da Siena," *Studi Francescani*, XXVI (1929), 237-238.

78. "Predica 38," Banchi, III, 214-252.

79. *Ibid.*, p. 238.

CONCLUSION

These few selections reveal something of the content of St. Bernardine's moral sermons. The Saint was a great moral teacher. He was the model and the standard bearer of those tireless preachers of the Fifteenth Century whose voices were heard in every Italian city, admonishing, exhorting, denouncing sin. According to Robert of Lecce (d. 1483) all the great preachers of the age, followed the style and manner of Bernardine. They imitated his oratorical devices. Like him, they conducted the burning of the vanities, celebrated Mass in the public squares, and held monster processions in which the whole populace joined. Above all, they used his Latin works as source material for their sermons, so that their missions were no mere emotional revivals but efforts at adult education in a very real sense, courses of vivid and inspiring lectures which covered the entire moral doctrine of Christ.

St. Bernardine, the Moral Teacher, was scholar and theologian, jurist and psychologist, a Saint who has deserved well of the Church for his contributions to Moral Theology. However, it is hard to think of him in any rôle save that of the popular preacher and apostle of souls. No matter what profound topic he may discuss, it is always with a view to saying in conclusion to some human heart: "Tu potrai per questa via salvare l'anima tua e darla a Gesù, che è benedetto in saecula saeculorum".—"In this way you will be able to save your soul and give it to Jesus, Who is blessed for ever and ever."

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THE APOSTOLIC LABORS OF ST. BERNARDINE IN REVIVING AND PURIFYING CHRISTIAN FAITH

BECAUSE the lifelong efforts of St. Bernardine of Siena were signalized by a charity and zeal for souls that were truly apostolic in every respect, we shall in the course of this paper treat of one phase of his fruitful labors which certainly ranks him among the great successors of the original Twelve. St. Bernardine, in purifying and confirming Christian faith, was an apostle who sought nothing else but the glory of the Name of God and the salvation of souls, to be effected by sound dogmatic and moral instructions.

For an appreciation of the apostolic labors of this renowned Franciscan Saint, we turn to the words written of him by the author of *La Franceschina*:

Our Lord Jesus Christ, magnificent King, does not cease to shower continually upon an ungrateful world His most bountiful graces, just as it pleased Him through His solicitous mercy to bestow, in recent years, that sincere and luminous lamp of Italy, St. Bernardine, through whose light and doctrine, not only Italy, but also a great part of Christendom, has received enlightenment along the path to salvation . . . through his holy life and praiseworthy conduct.¹

Indeed, the bountiful graces of Christ were sorely needed in St. Bernardine's time, and it pleased God to raise up a saint who would champion the cause of true faith and of good morals. The faith had to be purified, had to be revived, had to be controlled and directed into the proper channel; and St. Bernardine had the lively will and word to perform this great work. He was truly sent by God to become the ardent preacher of the divine Word, the loving educator of youth, and the apostolic teacher of all. Moreover, the moral conditions of his day were anything but good. Because faith, the foundation of all morality, was not lively and operative, the passions, fomented by bad example, constituted a grave danger to unwary souls. These passions obscured faith—in fact they turned faith itself for many people into a sort of abnormal assent, so that the truths of faith were not properly appreciated and followed. As a result, the good conduct and right living that derive from true faith were, in general, woefully lacking.

MORAL CONDITIONS OF THE TIMES

Let us review briefly the conditions of the times, as we know them from the sermons of St. Bernardine himself. Thus we shall have a fair idea of what he had to contend with in expending all the energy of his body and soul to bring about religious and social reform.²

The moral condition of the Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century world, we do not hesitate to assert, was not what certain hostile historians would have

1. Giacomo Oddi di Perugia [Olschki, Firenze, 1931], I, 359.

2. Cf. Dionisio Pacetti, O. F. M., *San Bernardino da Siena, Le Prediche Volgari, Campo di Siena, 1427* (Cantagalli, Siena, 1935); Ciro Cannarozzi, O. F. M., *Le Prediche Volgari* (Tip. Alberto Pacinotti, Pistoia, 1934), I-II; Agostino Gemelli, O. F. M., *The Franciscan Message to the World*, trans. by Henry Louis Hughes, (Burns, Oates and Washbourne, Ltd., London, 1934); Vittorino Facchinetti, O. F. M., *S. Bernardino da Siena, Mistico Sole del Secolo XV* (Casa Editrice, S. Lega Eucaristica, Milano, 1933).

us believe. It was *not* an era of total darkness, of complete ignorance, of absolute coarseness and incivility, of religious fanaticism. (Modern times, incidentally, are by no means glorified in a comparison.) It was, however, a tumultuous age indeed. It was an agitated sea of ideas and activity, for there were divisions among the people, wars, and particularly two political factions — the Guelphs and the Ghibellines.³ The adherents of these factions effectually separated all Italy into two rival camps and made it the theater of innumerable bloody discords. Cities fought against cities; families contended with other families; and often in the same family the difference of political thought was the cause of violent dissensions that degenerated into armed quarrels between the members, and mortal hatreds of brother for brother.

Schisms and heresies of every kind began to emerge, seeking to disseminate their errors wherever they could find followers. Many were the hours of leisure and idleness spent in gambling,⁴ in blasphemy,⁵ in detractions,⁶ in debaucheries and inordinate relations,⁷ in vanity,⁸ and in other vices too numerous to mention. Superstition was rampant.⁹ Cupidity brought along in its trail frauds and excessive usury.¹⁰ Commenting on the words of the Psalmist, *Declaratio sermonum tuorum illuminat, et intellectum dat parvulis*,¹¹ St. Bernardine succinctly presents the deplorable situation in this fashion: "We preachers must teach the young and the old, children, the fat and the lean; those who are in one category of sins, those in another category, and those in many categories."¹²

All those vices stemmed from that fatal variance of parties which at all times destroys peace among men, and they co-operated with it to disrupt the moral order. Everything in that age was passion — a lively passion, a stubborn passion, an insatiable passion. Each faction was quick to resort to arms in upholding its stand and in seeking material happiness, pleasure, and riches. This division of spirits made men forget their most sacred duties and obligations, and — what is the more to be deplored — left an opening for all sorts of vices and abuses. Thus, under the flag of political differences moral corruption marched unchecked, and depravity of customs increased from day to day.

Such a situation as this St. Bernardine never considered hopeless, as he set himself to the task of harnessing that explosive energy and controlling it by the two reins of knowledge and love. He knew that once he restored mankind to the foundation of all morality — namely, a lively faith — he could, with the grace of God, meet those conditions squarely, and effect that change which ultimately he did produce. Doctrinal and moral instructions were

3. We refer the reader to the Saint's beautiful sermon entitled *Charity is Union*, in which he condemns these two factions in no uncertain terms (Pacetti, *op. cit.*, pp. 139 *et seq.*).

4. Cf. Cannarozzi, *op. cit.*, I, 425 *et seq.*

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 444 *et seq.*

6. Cf. Pacetti, *op. cit.*, pp. 87 *et seq.*

7. Cf. Cannarozzi, *op. cit.*, I, 227 *et seq.*; 405 *et seq.*; II, 37 *et seq.*; 57 *et seq.*

8. Cf. Pacetti, *op. cit.*, p. 407 *et seq.*

9. Cf. Facchinetti, *op. cit.*, pp. 118 *et seq.*

10. Cf. Pacetti, *op. cit.*, pp. 427 *et seq.*

11. Ps. 118:130.

12. Pacetti, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

therefore essential in order to make the intellect receptive to the Word of God, once it had been enlightened by faith. On one occasion when he was preaching a sermon on the intellect and faith, St. Bernardine told his listeners that God

placed us in the middle of two extremes, insofar as we see and we do not see; and if you see in part and act in part, and you consent insofar as you do not see, you are approaching hell. Good faith lifts you to heaven; and the lack of faith drags you to hell. Take your choice.¹³

The Saint understood how to deal with every class of hearers. He even laid down certain norms that all preachers should follow. After stating their obligation to teach the young and the old and every kind of sinner, as we pointed out, he added:

We must speak to them in certain ways, with a certain order, and with certain gestures, so that our doctrine may have that effect for which it is taught, recalling to mind what Christ said to St. Peter, as the Apostle was fishing, "I will make you to be a fisher of men." This refers to no one else but to him who preaches the Word of God. He who understands the sermon less, sometimes praises the preacher more, so that when one who has heard the sermon and has not understood much of it should be asked, "What did the preacher say?" his answer would be [merely], "He spoke of so many good and beautiful things."¹⁴

St. Bernardine made it clear, therefore, that a preacher must know what he is saying and must say it with such clarity "that it [the matter discoursed upon] is fit to clarify the mind, and not to disturb or obscure it."¹⁵

We may take any one of St. Bernardine's *Prediche Volgari* to observe with what clearness he grasped and expounded Catholic doctrine and Christian morals. In every one of his sermons he divides and subdivides his material, unfolding his theme step by step, so that his audience was not only moved by the clarity and simplicity of his doctrine, but also soundly instructed. Thus, they were able in turn to instruct others who could not be present to hear him, as he often exhorted them to do.¹⁶ A typical example of simple, clear, orderly, and yet scholarly exposition of doctrine is his discourse on the Sacrament of Baptism, the only source of true faith.¹⁷ It is as thorough a treatment of the matter, the form, and the minister of Baptism as can be found in any theological treatise, and is interspersed with salutary exhortations, illustrated by examples, and adapted to the minds and understanding of all. It is an admirable revelation of his profound learning and of his holy zeal for souls.

FAITH THROUGH ENLIGHTENMENT OF THE INTELLECT

The Saint treats the subject of enlightenment of the intellect under three different points, which unite to form the three brilliant rays of that enlightenment. The first ray concerning faith is its foundation; the second is its con-

13. Cannarozzi, *op. cit.*, II, 90.

14. Pacetti, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

15. Pacetti, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 50, 57.

17. Cf. Cannarozzi, *op. cit.*, II, 124 et seq.

firmation; and the third is its formation.¹⁸ The first requisite of every Christian is to possess the faith, which alone is the life of the soul. It is the cause of his spiritual movements and development as much as the life of the body is the cause of man's physical development. St. Bernardine once said:

Tell me, what is the light of the soul? Do you know what it is? It is faith, which consists in believing that which you do not see; that is to say, in believing the Word that is preached and explained to you, which is of the Gospel of Christ and of the prophecies of the Prophets who have spoken of Him. And this was the office of the Apostles, who went throughout the world, preaching and explaining.¹⁹

It is faith that distinguishes the Christian from the skeptic, the pagan, the atheist. In fact, faith is the Christian's distinctive mark. Without it no individual or family is Christian, no individual or family Catholic; without faith no individual or family would have the likeness of Jesus Christ. As St. Paul teaches,²⁰ the first step in approaching God is faith, and without faith it is impossible to turn to God and to be pleasing to Him. The Apostle's statement does nothing more than echo faithfully the words of the Divine Master, Who made faith the indispensable condition for entrance into His Kingdom, assuring those who believe in Him life everlasting.²¹

Indeed, the words of St. Bernardine, as he dwelt upon the foundations for a lively and operative faith both in his popular sermons and in his writings, were the faithful echo of the words and teachings of his Divine Master, since the end of his apostolate was the realization of *Pax et Bonum*. Besides having a firm belief in the twelve articles of the *Credo*, he once told his hearers,²² the Christian must also believe in three types of writings: the Old and the New Testaments and "all the resolutions of Holy Church, all its decrees and its ordinations; and if you do not believe in them, it is exactly the same as if you believed not the Gospel, and you would be a heretic and excommunicated."²³

In all his activities, in the very manner of his living, St. Bernardine was a teacher of the faith of Christ, directing his energies particularly toward the education of youth in the fundamentals of religion, as he admonished parents of the grave obligation of good example and of vigilance over their children. Bernardine fervently exhorted these youths to study more so as to know God better; for a youth brought up without knowledge of God, without faith, without morality grows hostile to the Church, and indifferent to the Sacraments and prayer; and thus lying lazily in sloth, the father of all vices, instead of fattening the spirit of the Word of God by hearing sermons and receiving instruction that sustains faith and morality, he will run into ruin and death. St. Bernardine speaks directly to young people in this fashion:

Hence, O youth, you who wish to be truly noble, select the study of some science in which you can discipline your soul and direct your talent; and thus through the attainment of that knowledge you will become learned and clear of

18. *Ibid.*, p. 90.

19. Pacetti, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

20. Hebr. 11:6.

21. John 3:15.

22. Cannarozzi, *op. cit.*, II, 91.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 94.

mind, and you will then know God and the world; [but] the youth who is not studious is like an ass who delights in idleness, and he roams about after having slept to the third hour, and goes from his house to the public squares where he spends his time in laughter and derisions and grumbling, and returns home and eats and sleeps, and so forth and so forth.²⁴

Mindful of the necessity of a virtuous faith for salvation, St. Bernardine sought to correct and reform the deplorable conditions of his day by reviving and purifying Christian faith with all the energy of his being. He would give real understanding and appreciation of the Word of God, so that from it there would result a true, lasting faith. We know from his *Prediche Volgari* how conversations, bad example, evil company, scandals, and vices of every sort waged war against faith and morals; how the faith was discredited and the truths of our holy religion made light of; how the precepts of the Church and the commandments of God were entirely disregarded. People carried their faith as a tiny flame continually assailed on every side by the winds of incredulity, or as a fiery and uncontrollable torch that roared into fanatical excesses.

To awaken the dying faith, to purify it of abuses, to temper it and check its excesses, there rang out the challenging words of enlightenment from the mouth of the Saint of Siena. He anticipated and answered all objections, clarified all doubts, unveiled all wiles and sophistries, and explained each Catholic doctrine, giving to the truths of faith and consequently to the principles of good moral behavior that brightness which renders them at all times visible and that force which makes them ever efficacious. As the Saint himself once pointed out,²⁵ the preaching of the Gospel entails three offices: to preach, to explain, and to enlighten. In himself St. Bernardine fulfilled this threefold office to perfection. He well realized that the faith received in Baptism, if left alone, cannot survive. It cannot be preserved or practised without religious instruction; for faith, being a gift of God, must not remain sterile. Therefore, he would instruct and instruct. His *Prediche Volgari* are veritable masterpieces of religious instruction, couched in the simplest, clearest, and most precise terms. They show him to have been firm in combatting error, without, however, at any time losing sight of the gentleness and love of neighbor which were his most prominent qualities.²⁶

St. Bernardine stands out among the great religious educators of his day, all of whom were animated by the faith of the Apostles, all of whom aimed at the education of the mind and heart.²⁷ Just as the intellect or reason, left to itself, will not develop, but will stagnate unless awakened by words, so also the faith received in Baptism, he pointed out, cannot become that operative virtue so necessary for salvation unless it is awakened, purified, and kept alive by religious instruction. A child is taught to reason by its parents and teachers in school; a Christian is taught to keep the flame of faith burning by the Church, through the salutary teaching and preaching of her ministers.

24. Cf. Facchinetti, *op. cit.*, pp. 134, 135.

25. Cf. Pacetti, *op. cit.*, 55.

26. Cf. Facchinetti, *op. cit.*, p. 166; cf. Piero Misciatelli, *The Mystics of Siena* trans. by M. Peters-Roberts (D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1930), p. 154.

27. Cf. Misciatelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 144, 145; see also St. Bernardine's sermons on the Intellect, Cannarozzi, *op. cit.*, II, 90 *et seq.*, 109 *et seq.*

For this reason [argues St. Bernardine] holy Church has commanded that there be preaching every Sunday, either little or much, so long as there is preaching. . . . Tell me, how would you believe in the holy Sacrament of the altar if it were not for some sermon that you heard? You have faith in the Mass only through preaching. And more: how would you know what sin is if it were not for preaching? What would you know about hell if there were no sermon? What would you know of any good action, how you must do it, if it were not through sermons? What would you know of heavenly glory if not for the sermon? All the things that you know come from the words that you heard; and thus you come from knowledge to faith. And all that you have and know comes from the Word of God; and this is the general rule: that what you possess regarding the faith of Jesus Christ is possessed only through preaching. Nor will this faith ever be lost, so long as it will be preached.²⁸

In point of fact, St. Bernardine made the words of St. Paul, *fides ex auditu, auditus autem per verbum Christi*,²⁹ the guiding norm of his entire apostolate in purifying and promoting the faith of those whom he could not reach directly. Since preaching is one of the means that God employs in instructing and giving intelligence to souls, as he pointed out in his *Sermones Latini*,³⁰ the Saint preached faith, explained the truths that are the object of faith, and urged acceptance of the faith. Reasoning that the foundation of all morality is a sound faith, he desired as many as possible to hear his words and absorb them. He wanted them to teach others what they had heard and had learned. Thus, the good seed which he sowed was to function as the mustard seed or the leaven of the Gospel, and more men were brought back to the solid basis of Christian morality — the faith of Jesus Christ. In time, then, the deplorable conditions of his age would of themselves give place to the *peace and good* of a righteous moral order.

If, on the other hand, the faith of the people was unproductive of good, it was precisely because of their ignorance regarding the things of the spirit and the things of God. Ignorance was for St. Bernardine the cause of all evils.

Dear Brethren, during this Lent we wish to stress that which is more contrary to the salvation of souls than all other things in the world, that which is the cause of all evils in the world, the cause of all wars, of all pests, of all sicknesses, of all sins that men commit and of all the evils and harm that come upon souls and bodies.

And what is this thing? It is ignorance. *Quia omnis peccator ignorat*. All sinners are ignorant. Who was to blame that Adam sinned? Ignorance. Who caused the death of Christ? Ignorance. All the sins and evils that ever happened in the world all have come from ignorance.

And therefore we shall use our strength to conquer this beast of ignorance; and every day we will give him a beating. Because we cannot give place to light, if we do not chase away ignorance. Then there will be light.³¹

The faith of the people was without fruit also because man would not take time out from his worldly, material pursuits to hear the Word of God. Hence, St. Bernardine once counseled that of the two obligations, it was more

28. Pacetti, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-58.

29. Rom. 10:17.

30. Dionisio Pacetti, O. F. M., (Cantagalli, Siena, 1929), II, 69.

31. Cuthbert Gumbinger, O. F. M. Cap., "St. Bernardine's Unedited Prediche Volgari (Florence, 1424 and 1425; Siena, 1425; Padua, 1443)," *FRANCISCAN STUDIES*, XXV (1944), 19.

important for a person to hear the Word of God than to assist at Mass: "Holy Church has commanded you to go and hear Mass. And if of the two things [to hear a sermon or to hear Mass] you could do but one . . . , you should rather omit the Mass than the sermon; for reason tells us that there is not so much danger to your soul in not hearing Mass as there is in not hearing a sermon."³² The danger is quite evident, for then one would become a deaf-mute in the order of faith. The danger and harm that would result would be incalculable; one would arrive at the point where he would understand little or nothing of what pertains to true faith, to God, and to the future life; he would then form false ideas and prejudices without number as regards religion, and would finally walk among his brethren, a stranger to their life and their religious customs, heading straight for doom.

During Apostolic times faith conquered the world only through the medium of the spoken word, and the spoken word in the time of St. Bernardine was still the most important means of communication. It was in reference to some belief in Antichrist that St. Bernardine pointed out how Christ Himself prepared His Apostles and disciples for their divine mission. First He enlightened them and confirmed them in His holy doctrine, and then He sent them throughout the world to preach His holy faith.³³ That faith spread to every part of the world simply because of their preaching the Word of God, and that faith so increased that almost the entire world was aroused.³⁴ So, too, Bernardine, possessing the faith of the Apostles themselves, set out to purify the faith received in Baptism by instructing his hearers and confirming them in the doctrine of Christ, Whom they would in turn preach by word and example.³⁵ We need not dwell here on how the field of his apostolate was made fertile. Suffice it to say that cities vied with one another for the honor of listening to the life-giving words which flowed from his silver tongue, and that churches could not accommodate the crowds that flocked about him in the public squares where he was wont to preach.

FAITH — PRINCIPLE OF ORDER AND REFORM

In reforming the faith and morals of the people of Italy, to which country he confined his efforts, St. Bernardine operated on a definite principle in all his activities. From the brief description given of the moral conditions of his time, we can readily see that the situation was similar in many respects to the one we are faced with in our own day. There was, however, one basic difference. In the midst of so much disorder and confusion and corruption, there was at least one principle of order which could be and had to be developed; and the Saint was aware of it. That principle of order was faith itself, which fundamentally existed in both rulers and subjects and which underlay the whole structure of their lives. In order to revive and purify Christian faith, St. Bernardine got down to the root, the very foundation, of that theological virtue.

32. Pacetti, *Le Prediche Volgari*, p. 57.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 58.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

35. It would seem, therefore, that the ardent Franciscan of Siena envisioned a movement of Catholic Action on a world-wide scale.

Paradoxically enough, the people had Christian faith. In that age, however, as we noted earlier, everything was passion. Even their faith was a passion rather than a virtue, similar to all the other passions of the times. People even fought for faith in those days, and considered it lawful to seek revenge against the enemies of true faith. Because their faith was a passion, it clouded their intellects — and this in turn generated corruption. Nevertheless, it *was* faith. It was a certain something that always forms the root of all order, natural and supernatural, earthly and heavenly.

Moreover, to their credit be it said (which cannot be said of our own times), that they were most assuredly far removed from Indifferentism — the type of Indifferentism we know today as materialism and godlessness. Though there was a passionate stirring up of hatred and enmities among the various classes, the age was certainly not one of gross materialism, rationalism, and atheistic ideologies. The materialism that was spreading more and more in Italy at that time was but the result of a dominant and increasing spirit of cupidity for possessions, for honors, for lands to rule — to the neglect, indeed, of the spiritual kingdom, but never to the complete disregard of it. However passionate and ill-directed, faith was nonetheless present. It was a faith that never doubted the existence of God, Who would one day judge the good and the bad, Who would one day demand from all men a strict account of their lives, and Who would bestow eternal reward on the good and impose an eternal punishment on the wicked.

Since, therefore, the men of that day needed only to change their cupidity of things earthly into the desire of things spiritual and eternal, St. Bernardine labored unceasingly to revive their existing faith and appealed constantly to their faith in God. However warped their faith was, however dormant on the one hand or passionate on the other, Bernardine had something to work with. He knew that the germ of true faith existed. In a word, he recognized the basic principle of the faith in his hearers. That was the important thing for him.

He resolved to convert that faith so necessary for salvation from a faith that was simply received with Baptism, that was simply a passion of the times, that was as injurious as all other existing passions — into a faith that would really constitute an actual and operative virtue, that would dominate the intellect and form virtuous habits. He set out with timely instructions to spur the faith of the people on to good works or to direct it into the proper channels. As he argued, once a soul is enlightened and established in the truths of faith and in good habits, once the intellect is refined of its erroneous ideas, then a person has true understanding; then he enjoys the true light of faith; then he possesses that which is necessary for salvation, as he turns from his evil ways.³⁶

Still, the mere appeal to faith was not sufficient for Bernardine in his efforts to revive, purify, and control that very principle of all order. While other popular preachers of his time appealed to the faith of their hearers by playing on their belief in hell, in the Last Judgment, and even in the supposed presence of Antichrist or his proximate coming — to which idea St.

36. Cf. Pacetti, *I Sermoni Latini*, I, 134-137.

Bernardine would not subscribe³⁷ — the Saint appealed to the faith of his listeners through the love of God and particularly through the Holy Name of Jesus, the powerful key word of his reforms.

He must indeed have been influenced by the violence of the times, or incited by the evident hard-heartedness of the Sienese people, on the unusual occasion when he warned them that he would stand against them on the day of the Last Judgment if they would not amend their ways through the salutary lessons of his words:

Know that I shall be before God on the day of judgment . . . against those who have disregarded that which I have preached and [continue to] preach. And I shall say to God, "My Lord, I have preached to this people that which You have commanded me; they have wished not to understand or obey my words. Lord, You said through Your Gospel, 'He who is not with Me is against Me' (Matt. 12:30). These have wished not to be of Your own; Lord, do justice." The bad will be cast out from God; the good will be rewarded a hundredfold.³⁸

Such dire warnings, however, were foreign to his nature. It was eminently through his love and zeal for souls, and through the efficacy of the Holy Name of Jesus, that St. Bernardine was able to assuage the violent waves of human passions. In that Name "that is above every name" (Phil. 2:9), the Saint invited men to purify and preserve their faith, to be converted from their evil ways, and to do good. For him, the Holy Name of Jesus was the order of the day throughout his entire apostolate; and it rang out from his lips as a challenge against the immoral tendencies of the times. He always bore in mind the promise given to the Apostles that they could conquer the powers of hell by virtue of the Name — *In nomine meo*. It was the emblem of that spirit which animated his zeal, as he refuted rising heretical doctrines, as he spoke out clearly and frankly against every sort of vice, as he broke up schisms, as he brought together warring factions — by preaching love and peace.³⁹

We need but read his beautiful sermon on the Holy Name of Jesus to see how in detail he points out the virtue and power contained in that Sacred Name, how he urged his listeners to persevere in their faith in God, in their good works, in their conversion, and in their devotion to it. In loving and adoring God alone, St. Bernardine observed, we are "to conserve with works the faith [we have] promised"; "to preserve God in [our] faith"; "to be devoted in [our] good faith." He concludes in this wise: "Have faith therefore in the Name of Jesus, and you shall have grace here on earth, and glory in life everlasting."⁴⁰

Little wonder, then, that St. Bernardine, with such a powerful weapon at his disposal, coupled with sanctity of life, an ardent zeal for souls, the profound knowledge and learning necessary to teach, and an unusual personality, was able to pursue so successfully the apostolic labors assigned to him by God, for His greater glory and for the salvation of so many souls. Little

37. Cf. Pacetti, *Le Prediche Volgari*, pp. 58-60.

38. Pacetti, *ibid.*, pp. 67-68.

39. Cf. Cannarozzi, *op. cit.*, II, 95 *et seq.*, 230 *et seq.*; Pacetti, *Le Prediche Volgari*, pp. 139 *et seq.*, 207 *et seq.*, 479 *et seq.*

40. Cf. Cannarozzi, *op. cit.*, II, 216-229.

wonder that the people themselves became so inflamed with the fire of his deep faith, and amended their evil ways after listening to the words of eternal life which rose eloquently and often to his lips, leaving no doubt in the minds of all as to what he wished to correct and teach.

Cognizant of the fact that "if truth is not first taught," as he wrote in his *Sermones Latini*,⁴¹ "there is danger of collective error," St. Bernardine continued to remind teachers and preachers, in the words of St. Thomas Aquinas, that they have the office of teaching what is necessary for salvation; of teaching, not false doctrine, but the truth according to the opportunity of time and the diversity of persons. He warned them that on no account must they pass truth over in silence. These were the norms he set for himself, which he followed to perfection. Knowing as he did the human heart and the times in which he lived, for every heresy that arose he had ready the sound opposite doctrine; for every kind of vice and passion he had its opposing moral truth. Enmity and hatred he met with love and charity that knew no bounds. He was solicitous only to lead men to God, to remove and separate youths from the moral turpitude of the times, and to espouse the cause of Christ in a unity of faith, hope, and charity.

He established thereby the foundation of all true reforms. He reawakened faith to good works, showing that the truths of our holy religion were confirmed by three facts — first, by a harmony of testimonies;⁴² secondly, by the wonder of miracles (and in this regard he told his hearers that the miracle of miracles was the fact that twelve men — unlettered, unpolished, penniless, fishermen, subject to bodily passions and to hunger and thirst — had converted the whole world or a major part of it, so that "their sound hath gone forth into all the earth: and their words unto the ends of the world");⁴³ and thirdly, by the fortitude of martyrs.⁴⁴

However, what complements faith and insures eternal salvation is its formation and fermentation in our intellect and in our works. "There are three ways in which one may have faith," St. Bernardine stated; "faith only in the intellect, faith only in works, and faith in the intellect and works together."⁴⁵ The first is a dead faith, because it is without good works;⁴⁶ the second is the faith of hypocrites;⁴⁷ but the third, that which exists in the intellect and is manifested outside the intellect by good works, is indeed the faith of the soul, which (he continues) is "inspired by good faith and works, perfect and holy, enlightened and watered in the fountain of Jesus Christ, Who said, 'If anyone thirst, let him come to Me and drink' (John 7:37) — which is as though He said: Be formed in faith."⁴⁸ Then, and only then, will faith justify men, for, as the Saint concludes: "whoever does virtuous works because of a well-founded faith receives Jesus Christ and is with

41. Pacetti, II, 29-30.

42. Cf. Cannarozzi, *op. cit.*, II, 97-98.

43. Ps. 18:5; cf. Cannarozzi, *op. cit.*, II, 99.

44. Cf. Cannarozzi, *op. cit.*, II, 101-102.

45. *Ibid.*, pp. 102 *et seq.*

46. Cf. James 2:17.

47. Cf. Matt. 23:23 *et seq.*

48. Cannarozzi, *op. cit.*, II, 106-107.

Him . . . ; and the soul that has not faith has cut off the legs of truth . . . , and falls."⁴⁹

CONCLUSION

Armed thus with the eloquence of his convictions and deep, abiding faith, this glorious Franciscan Saint conquered souls for Christ, as he traveled the greater part of Italy, actuated only by a spirit of peace and union in the faith and charity of Christ. He was able to call souls back to real piety and to that faith which consists in fulfilling all duties out of homage to God Who imposed them. He had in his heart and in his whole being the ardent splendor of the sun, which (as he often mentioned in illustrating the truths of faith) gives light and heat and life to all created things. He was the fire that inflamed the hearts of the people to faith and good works, as God Himself once deigned to show by a miracle when St. Bernardine was preaching in the city of Lucca. Giacomo Oddi of Perugia narrates that one bright day in October, as the Saint was discoursing to the people with the greatest enthusiasm, there was seen on the walls of the city a lighted torch, which moved over and across the city to the Square and Church of St. Julia, and then vanished. When told of this phenomenon, Bernardine answered, "Do not worry; that is a good sign." "And without doubt it was a great sign," continues the narrator, "for he [St. Bernardine] was that flaming torch who enlightened the people with his salutary and holy doctrine."⁵⁰

In all truth, because of the innumerable conversions he effected, and because of the return of the people to that apostolic faith for which he labored so diligently, we may well say of St. Bernardine that he was one of the principal instruments employed by God to preserve Italy from the fate of falling prey to the great heresies that were soon to burst forth into a conflagration over the rest of Europe.

The glorious Franciscan apostle, schooled as he was in Seraphic love and steeped in the faith of the Apostolic Twelve, never sought to put himself forward. Rather, he spoke with simplicity and directness, as one who desires the sanctification of him who hears. With words that were sculptured deep in his own mind and heart, because of his profound knowledge of human nature, the depth of his doctrinal learning, and his sincere humility and all-embracing charity, he preached and taught; and his preaching and teaching won all hearts. His very being — soul and body, heart and mind — was directed only to God for the good of souls. Truly he was a man sent by God to a people who needed His divine graces.

Well, then, could St. Bernardine say with the Psalmist, "Not to us, O Lord, not to us: but to Thy Name give glory" (Ps. 113:1). In point of fact, it was the Name of Jesus which constantly inspired the life and work of this Saint. By virtue of that Holy Name he converted souls without number. By virtue of that Name he revived and purified Christian faith and re-directed it into its proper sphere. By virtue of that Holy Name he succeeded in establishing in the hearts of men the Kingdom of Christ, which was, is, and always will be a Kingdom of Faith, of Charity, and of Peace and Good.

49. *Ibid.*, pp. 110-111.

50. *La Franceschina*, I, 380.

In his day rulers and subjects alike flocked from far and near to hear his words of wisdom. They came and listened and submitted to the gentle yoke of Christ the King; and everywhere throughout the land there came that peace and harmony which are the outcome of fraternal charity and a righteous moral order. May all men in our day, and particularly the rulers who control the temporal destinies of nations, hearken to the salutary lessons of Jesus Christ, as taught by the humble Franciscan Saint of Siena; and may they learn them well, so that once more that Kingdom of Faith, of Charity, and of Peace and Good may flourish in the hearts of all mankind!

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ST. BERNARDINE'S CASE FOR THE DOCTORATE

ST. BERNARDINE of Siena has been styled "The Trumpet of Heaven" and "The Prince of Preachers." Because of his zeal and eloquence he was likened to St. Paul by Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (later Pius II).¹ From modern studies on the Saint's life and works, from the letter of Pope Pius XII and other writings about him in this year of his fifth centenary, we are edified to see what a learned, eloquent, and fruitful preacher and writer he was. Praised and defended by such great popes as Martin V and Eugene IV, Bernardine received still higher encomia in the bull of canonization issued by Pope Nicholas V:

Novissime diebus nostris jubar quoddam mirifici splendoris et refulgentis luminis ad gloriam sui nominis efficacius propalandam eduxit [Deus] in lucem sanctum videlicet Bernardinum de Senis. . . . Noctes ducebat insomnes, sacram scripturarum lucidissimas enucleans veritates, in amplis voluminibus relinquens posteris dignam suorum bonorum laborum memoriam et fructus divini nominis gloriae plenos, doctrinae salutiferae ubertate foecundos pariter et facundos, mellitos sermones ordinans et utilissimos Tractatus componens lucida veritate conspicuos et praeclaros. . . . Italicas regiones lustravit et provincias, adeo quod ubi cultu verae fidei vacua prius censebantur, suis praedicationibus illustrata religio praefulgeat limpide christiana.²

This is one of the highest and clearest eulogies of Bernardine and his work that could be pronounced. It lauds his great merit in preaching the triumphal glory of Jesus, and declares that Bernardine's excellent sermons are fruitful for future ages.

Considering the nobility and vastness of Bernardine's work and teaching, and keeping in mind the ever-increasing interest in him in the past century, the Franciscan order has cherished the hope that Bernardine may some day be declared a Doctor of the Church. In fact, the order in 1862 petitioned the Holy See for this honor to be granted the Saint. The time was not yet opportune, however, because more work had to be done in editing and appraising the Saint's writings.

As a result of that petition there was published in 1877 a very valuable work. Containing the documents relating to the inquiry instituted by the Sacred Congregation of Rites, it is a large quarto volume entitled *Romana seu Ordinis Minorum Declarationis Tituli Doctoris in Honorem S. Bernardini Senensis et Extensionis Ejusdem Tituli ad Universam Ecclesiam cum Officio et Missa de Communi Doctorum* Instantibus quamplurimis Emis. S. R. E. Cardinalibus, Rmis. Patriarchis, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis et Religiosorum Ordinum Moderatoribus (Romae, Typis Guerra et Mirri, 1877). In this article this work will be referred to as *Romana*. Since the various documents have separate paginations, each document will be referred to in the order it has in the book as Part I, etc., with the respective page. This work of the Sacred Congregation of Rites is rare and long out of print. The present writer extends his thanks to the Conventual Friars of St. Anthony-on-Hudson, at Rensselaer,

1. *Romana*, I, p. 6.

2. *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 156-157.

N. Y., for the use of this work, without which this paper could not have been written.

The first seven pages contain a plea that Bernardine be declared a Doctor. Various reasons are given, and some praises of the Saint are added.

The second part of the book contains forty pages of petitions addressed to the Holy See in behalf of Bernardine's Doctorate by cardinals, archbishops, bishops and superiors of religious orders. All these testimonies are valuable and can be used again in a future petition. This second part, from page 41 to page 85, is devoted to an able dissertation by Fr. Aloysius Tassi, O. F. M., on the "Genuineness of St. Bernardine's Works." The dissertation in Italian is still of great worth despite some mistakes. There follow two more pages listing names of prelates who petition the Holy See to declare Bernardine a Doctor.

The third part consists of forty-one pages wherein the Promoter of the Faith raises objections to Bernardine's style of speaking, to the genuineness of some of his works, and to certain doctrines he holds. In short, the Promoter objects, *ex officio*, that Bernardine does not have eminent doctrine, and that he does not have the necessary qualities in common with the Doctors of the Church. This document is peculiar, uses bold expressions, and is quite one-sided. On the other hand, it provides the defenders of Bernardine a good chance to clarify many things, and to set in relief the Saint's sublime and correct doctrine. The tone of the Promoter's objections can be gathered from the following excerpt:

Plura ex variis concionibus et argumentis decerpere volui non ut patientia EE. PP. abuterer, sed ut ipsis inservirem, eosdemque a nimio labore exonerarem proluxa Bernardini volumina evolvendi. Liquet enim, ea quae hactenus allata sunt nedum toto coelo abesse a quavis doctrinae eminentis idea, sed neque doctrinae nomen utcumque promereri. . . . Una quippe, eademque omnibus semper inest facies; idem ubique idearum delectus, seu potius incondita quaedam viliorque materiae seges plena manu profusa. Eaedem passim scripturalium aenigmatum explanationes illegitimae, arbitrariae, contortae, aut rigido litterali cortici penitus inhaerentes. Pro doctrinae copia atque praestantia late eminent tropi abnormes, et allegoriae absurdae, demonstrationes aridae e sacris profanisque testimoniis conflatae, ineptae exclamationes frequentissimae, descriptiones pueriles, vulgaria effata perfrigida, ioci scurriles et inurbani, figmenta demum omnigena partim oratoria arte adornata, partim poetica prorsus abiecta, et saepius ridicula; omnia ad ingenium dumtaxat illius aetatis et incultae plebis congesta, ac mentis feracitate potius et oris facundia, quam solida scientia, studio, et calami industria dignitateque comparata. Oratio promodum vulgaris, stylus neglectus, barbarismis et soloecismis redundans.³

Truly an amusing piece! One would think that after such a blast the Promoter would leave Bernardine for dead, and that the defenders of the Saint would have little to say. But the Promoter here gains his second wind. For another nineteen pages he goes on merrily to show what eminent doctrine is required in a Doctor, and how other doctors have fulfilled this requirement. While it is the *ex officio* obligation of the Promoter to make every imaginable objection, still his charges against Bernardine's doctrine are a serious affair. What can Bernardine's defenders say to all these objections?

Fortunately Bernardine's friends found one to give an able reply to all adverse criticisms. Monsignor Dominic Ferrata presents a noble answer to

3. *Ibid.*, III, p. 22.

the Promoter of the Faith. In no less than 341 pages, Msgr. Ferrata calmly and gently, yet with great mental acumen, and not without a little touch of irony, defends Bernardine from all charges of barbarous language, false doctrines, poor style, and mere copying. This reply is the fourth and last part of *Romana*. It is undoubtedly the best and most profound praise of Bernardine in print. Other writers may add to it and bring new arguments for the Saint's sublime doctrine, but in the last analysis Msgr. Ferrata's reply will remain the groundwork for future defense.

CAN ST. BERNARDINE BE DECLARED A DOCTOR?

In order that a person be named a Doctor of the Church, three things are required: holiness of life, eminent doctrine, and the declaration by a pope or a General Council.⁴ Bernardine's holiness is beyond question by reason of his canonization by Pope Nicholas V in 1450. What remains to be proved is that he taught eminent doctrine. We shall base our arguments on Msgr. Ferrata's reply to the Promoter, corroborating it by more recent writings and findings.

In its petition to the Holy See, the Franciscan order styled Bernardine "Minorum Ordinis decor, Ecclesiae lumen, Evangelii praeco indefessus." This the order proved by citing the various writings left by the Saint, by quoting testimonies of various authors and by showing some of the rich fruits of his work.⁵

The Bollandist testimony is especially noteworthy:

Instaurata sunt, principe Bernardino, et fructuosus praedicandi modus, et utilium editio sermonum: ut in libris quos composuit de Religione Christiana et de Evangelio aeterno ac posteris legendos reliquit, plenius continetur. Hos enim edidit libros, ne tam cito doctrinae suae transiret utilitas, sed ad posteritatem usque perduraret, ut innumerabiles, vel defunctus, edoceret: cuius doctrina admonentur omnes ut vitia extirpent, et gloriam [aeternam] concupiscant. Ex huiusmodi doctrinae fonte omnes praeclari Evangelii praedicatores hauserunt, qui fructus uberrimos in horrea Domini congregavêre; et fructuosa semper ab eis in populo salutis opera pullularunt, qui a Bernardini praedicandi vestigiis minime deviarunt.⁶

From this praise emanating from the Bollandists we see that Bernardine has a distinct doctrine and a special way of preaching; that he has left his writings to teach others even after his death. If his doctrine were a mere compilation from other sources, his writings would not be needed to teach others. We see too that all great preachers drew their doctrine from Bernardine's writings to help the people. Indeed, this is a precious testimony.

The order also quotes another part of the bull of canonization issued by Pope Nicholas V: "Adeo vitae exemplo et sacra praedicatione profecit [Bernardinus] ut fere per omnem Italiam renovaverit Evangelium Christi."⁷ Then these words of the Bollandists are added:

Quis denique satis dixerit, quot uberrimis ille suis sanctissimis doctrinis ad Dei cognitionem amoremque attraxerit? quot ex tantis mundi aerumnis tantoque nau-

4. *Ibid.*, I, p. 2.

5. *Ibid.*, I.

6. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 8, 9.

7. *Ibid.*, I, p. 9.

fragio ad tranquillum tutumque sanctae Religionis portum eduxerit? quotque eorum habitationis causa extrui domos et monasteria curaverit?⁸

These words refer to Bernardine's zeal for regular observance, especially in his own order where he is known as a "Pillar of the Observance."⁹ Summarizing the influence of Bernardine both among the people of his time and within and without the order ever since, the petition states:

Quid autem, quod jam divus Bernardinus in Ecclesia Doctoris munere veluti fungitur? Et re quidem vera, Ecclesia in 2 et 3 Nocturno Matutini non alias recitandas proponit Lectiones, quam quae ex scriptis Latinorum vel Graecorum Patrum, aut insignium Doctorum desumptae sunt. Non semel autem in iis Nocturnis Lectiones et Homilias a S. Bernardini scriptis desumptas recitamus. Ita praecipue in festo Patrocinii S. Josephi, in festo Purissimi Cordis Mariae, in festo Beatorum XL Martyrum Japonensium.¹⁰

The order argues that one who is ranked with the Doctors in the Breviary should also be declared a Doctor. Since that statement was first made, homilies from the writings of Bernardine have been introduced for the second day of the Octave of the Patronage of St. Joseph, for the feast of Mary Mediatrix of all Graces (in the Order), and for the fifth day within the Octave of the feast of the Sacred Heart. In this, it is contended, the Church acknowledges implicitly that Bernardine has eminent doctrine.

Msgr. Ferrara's excellent defense of the Saint proves this fact more clearly and more explicitly. He replies thus to the Promoter's objection that the order has not sufficiently considered the gravity of the question:

Quomodo enim vir ille celeberrimus [Bernardinus] qui a Deo excitari visus est ut tenebras saeculi decimi quinti detergeret; qui apostolorum missionem sequutus *mellitos sermones ordinans pabulum doctrinae coelestis indesinenter exhibuit* (Bull. canon.); qui velut alter Paulus vas electionis a Deo missus est, ut portaret nomen suum coram gentibus et regibus et filiis Israel; qui praedicatione sua vitia undique pullulantia cohibuit, pacem ac charitatem inter populos restituit et universam Italiam doctissimis sermonibus renovavit; qui demum ab ipso cl. Censore [Animad. # 5] (videte, Patres amplissimi, quomodo a candido sinceroque pectore veritas sponte sese prodat atque erumpat!) ab ipso, inquam, cl. Censore orator eximius *opere et sermone potens* appellatur; quomodo, inquam, vir iste immortalis talis non videbitur, qui in doctorum coetum cooptari possit? Non satis perpendit quaestionis gravitatem Seraphicus Ordo! Esto. At non satisne rei gravitatem perpensis dicendi sunt tot illi venerandi ac doctissimi Sacri hujus Collegii Patres, qui concordi prece Bernardini honores titulo nobilissimo augeri postularunt? (Summ. Num. 2) tot. illi ornatissimi Ecclesiae Antistites, qui dignum illum censuerunt, ut inter Doctores connumeretur? (Summ. Num. 28) tot illi insignes Ordinum Praesules, qui Bernardini operibus accurate inspectis, preces Apostolicae Sedi ad Doctoris titulum pro tanto viro obtinendum admoverunt?¹¹

Msgr. Ferrara concludes that if the Seraphic order had not sufficiently considered the gravity of the question in regard to Bernardine's Doctorate, the order shares this fault in common with some very learned and high prelates of the Church who have also asked that Bernardine be declared a Doctor.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

9. Cf. Victor Mills, O. F. M., "St. Bernardine of Siena, Pillar of the Observance," FRANCISCAN STUDIES, XXV (N. S. 4) (1944), 121-133.

10. *Romana*, I, p. 10.

11. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 3.

THE SCHOLARSHIP AND ZEAL OF ST. BERNARDINE

Msgr. Ferrata goes on to prove the scholarship and zeal of the Saint. All his life Bernardine continued to study and to improve his mind, even as he kept advancing in union with Christ. Day and night the holy friar studied, wrote, and prayed, and his zeal overflowed in his sermons and writings. He and St. John Capistran were theologians at the Council of Florence. In fact, Bernardine even preached miraculously in Greek at that Council. While Bernardine had some knowledge of Greek, he knew he could not preach in that tongue. Yet he prayed, and ascending the pulpit, he delivered an exquisite discourse in Greek on the mystery of the Blessed Trinity and the Procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son.¹² All the biographers of Bernardine agree that he was a highly educated person. He attended classes even after he had become famous.¹³ He studied both before and after his entrance into the order. Theology, Scripture, Canon Law, and Moral Theology were his food and drink. Columbaio, Fiesole, and Capriola saw him time and again in deep study and earnest work. Of his studies at Capriola especially, Thureau-Dangin writes:

On his return to Capriola our Saint, from the year 1433 to about 1436, embraced a sedentary life. . . . After the attacks levelled against his teaching, which had just received the twofold approbation of the Holy See, he deemed it expedient to retire for a space into solitude, there in peace and quiet to compile a series of sermons which should afford the world a detailed account of his doctrine, and render it proof against future calumny. He was, in fact, about to undertake a vast treatise of dogmatic and moral theology, intended to assist himself and others in their preaching. And in this herculean task he was upheld by his conscious ability to furnish his fellow-labourers on the missionary field with more solid matter and material than was afforded them by the manuals then in vogue.¹⁴

Here we see again not only that Bernardine was learned but that he had some special doctrine which he was determined to leave to all Christians. Thureau-Dangin's testimony, gleaned from many sources, is still more valuable when he continues:

That he [Bernardine] was not mistaken herein was testified by the astounding rapidity with which his sermons, on their appearance, penetrated to foreign parts. Contemporary biographers are indeed full of the fact how not only in Italy, but likewise in France and Spain, in Germany and in the Far East, preachers sought therein for inspiration until it came to be acknowledged as the best work of the kind then in existence, as upholding the standard to which every one strove to attain.¹⁵

Bernardine taught the Church of his day in all Europe. Even in Scotland and Poland his sermons were used not only by preachers in the Seraphic order, but also by others. Bernardine promoted studies in the order. He founded a school of Canon Law and Theology at Perugia in 1440. He exhorted the friars of the Observance to study; and when he was Vicar General

12. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 245; cf. Vittorino Facchinetti, O. F. M., *S. Bernardino da Siena, Mistico Sole del Secolo XV* (Milano, 1933), p. 382, note 2.

13. Bernardine attended lectures of Guarino at Verona (Facchinetti, *op. cit.*, p. 154).

14. Paul Thureau-Dangin, *The Life of S. Bernardino of Siena* (London), pp. 141-142.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 142.

he revoked faculties for hearing confessions from all the friars who were ignorant.¹⁶

Bernardine kept in touch with learned men both in and out of his order. He was ever interested in texts, discussions, and research. He sought rich and rare codices in the libraries and bookstalls. He loved the classics in the right manner, and honored the ancient poets and philosophers. He was alive to the spirit of the Renaissance, and proud of Italy and Tuscany. He may be called a well-guided humanist who cultivated profane learning as an aid to his apostolic work. His Latin is elegant, his Tuscan faultless. In fact the sermons of his Siena course (1427) taken down by the fuller Benedetto di Messer Bartolomeo are considered among the best Italian prose works of the Fifteenth Century. Bernardine quotes Homer, Aristotle, Plato, Ovid, Horace, Cicero, Seneca, Virgil, Lucan, Pliny, Martial, Quintillian, Macrobius, and other ancient writers. But his greater love was reserved for the Fathers, Doctors, and theologians of the Church. He quotes Jerome, Augustine, Gregory the Great, Bernard, Orosius, Thomas Aquinas, Peter Lombard, Alexander of Hales, Bonaventure, Richard of Middleton, and Landolph Carraciolo, together with his favorites St. Paul, Duns Scotus, Ubertino of Casale, and Dante.¹⁷

It would be tedious to go into more detail in regard to Bernardine's scholarship. Suffice it to say that Bernardine's aim was ever practical. He did not care for sterile knowledge; and he cherished all branches of knowledge that would help him to meet the needs of the people. He had a real passion for study, and the seven rules as to the method of study which he gave to students are an indication of his interest in proper learning.¹⁸ In Siena in 1427 he encouraged students to study at the University to help themselves in the woolen trade and in tanning leather.¹⁹

Bernardine's zeal is proved by his life and works. From books, both modern and ancient, we know how wonderfully he labored for souls for forty years. We know from the testimonies of contemporaries and of many popes, saints, and theologians what fruits Bernardine realized in this fatiguing apostolic life of preaching and writing. Msgr. Ferrata praises the Saint's zeal so highly because he says that Bernardine knew the corrupt state of the people, and only the zeal of a holy doctor could have effected the change in Italy that Bernardine did.²⁰ Pope Nicholas V has similar words of praise in the bull of Bernardine's canonization.²¹

There are extant the Latin and Italian sermons of Bernardine, surpassing proof of his apostolic zeal. We no longer see the man; we cannot hear his voice—but we can read his sermons. We must be fair in our estimate of both his Latin and Italian sermons. No doubt, a preacher today would not give these Italian sermons as he gave them or at least as they are preserved. Sermon-styles and methods of preaching vary with times and places. Yet we

16. Facchinetti, *op. cit.*, pp. 130 *et seq.*; cf. A. G. Ferrers Howell, *S. Bernardino of Siena* (London, 1913), pp. 72-74.

17. Facchinetti, *op. cit.*, pp. 155, 161.

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 132-137.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 131.

20. *Romana*, IV, p. 6.

21. *Ibid.*, I, p. 9.

cannot condemn the style or method of Bernardine in his popular sermons as childish or unfit for his audience. If anyone knew the people and their needs, it was he. That the ordinary preaching was poor when he began his ministry is well known; it is also known that he lifted the office of preaching to a new and sublime level. True it is that he makes many distinctions, quotes many texts from Scripture to suit himself, and tells jokes to enliven the sermon, and does many other things of which the *Censor egregius* complains in *Romana*, Part III. Yet such things were according to the taste of the times; and Bernardine is rather to be praised than blamed for the way in which he made deft use of these various preaching devices. Thureau-Dangin has this defense and praise of Bernardine's popular sermons:

Doubtless a written record, however skilfully made, can never revive the living voice, which must needs go down with the speaker to the grave; whence the disappointment aroused by the perusal of some discourses. So it must be, above all, with a popular style of eloquence, applying itself, as it does, entirely to the object of creating some momentary effect; inspired as it is by the immediate circumstances of the discourse, and acting always in intimate communion with the audience. Here, if ever, it is a case of accessories acting more powerfully than even speech itself. How telling must have been the preacher's voice and emphasis, the atmosphere and swift transit of emotion from the speaker to his audience by means of the strong link uniting them, and last, though not least, that ascendancy bestowed by sanctity and possessed by Bernardino in no small degree! But even though the full power of Bernardino's eloquence has gone the way of all things human, the patiently effected work of the poor Sienese fuller [Siena, 1427] serves as a veritable revelation, enabling us to enter more fully into the results obtained by this marvellous preaching, as also into the praise so unstintingly bestowed upon it. By throwing a vivid light on the methods employed by preachers during the Middle Ages, this record stands out, moreover, as a valuable contribution to one of the most important chapters in the history of the pulpit and of society in medieval times.²²

In his apostolic work Bernardine taught a vast host of souls, and the effects of his preaching and writing is incalculable. Msgr. Ferrata declares of his teaching:

Tam ampla eruditione et scientia praeditus [Bernardinus] coelestem missionem sibi commissam magno animi ardore aggressus est. Etenim Apostoli monito adhaerens, "Praedica verbum, insta opportune, importune, argue, obsecra, increpa in omni patientia et doctrina," oppugnabat abusus, incredulitatem profligabat, corripiebat errantes, resipiscentibus gratulabatur, civium odia intestinasque seditiones extinguebat, docebat in pagis, docebat in urbibus, doctis non minus quam indoctis tutas ac salutares agendi normas praescribebat. *Tantam vero scribendo docendoque auctoritatem est nactus, tantam praesetulit doctrinam atque sapientiam, ut ipsius documenta atque scripta incredibili omnium studio atque plausu exciperentur et late undique magna celeritate pervulgata summa diligentia et spiritali utilitate ab omnibus perlegerentur.*²³

As though this exquisite testimony were not sufficient, Msgr. Ferrata adds the splendid praise of Bernardine by St. John Capistran:

Sacerdos ac praedicator effectus, adeo nomen suum per orbem insonuit ex suis fructiferis efficacibusque sermonibus, ut tam verba quam gesta ipsius Bernardini divina potius quam humana ab omnibus censeantur: erat revera, ex quo in officio

22. Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.*, pp. 224-225.

23. *Romana*, IV, p. 8 (italics mine).

praedicationis ardentem auideque profecit, *praedicatorum Italiae facile princeps illustris*, adeo quod postquam suos sermones in tribus Quadragesimalibus et quampluribus tractatibus tam de Spiritu Sancto, tam de laudibus Virginis gloriosae, tam de triumphalissimo nomine Jesu Christi, tamque de festivitatibus Sanctorum et de extravagantibus sermonibus ad clerum, ad religiosos et ad sanctimoniales Deo dicatas sententialiter designavit et pro maiori parte sua manu descripsit, ut nedum per Italiam se felices reputent praedicatores suorum opusculorum copias obtinentes, sed et per Hispaniam, Franciam, Angliam et Iberniam [sic], Flandriam, Alemaniam, Ungariam, Graeciam usque ad orientalem plagam et per Cyprum et Asiam inter Latinos aliasque etiam barbaricas nationes Sancti Bernardini laudabile praeconium divulgetur.²⁴

From this testimony, which can hardly be excelled, we see how even soon after Bernardine's death he taught the entire Church through his written sermons. Not mere ordinary truths did Bernardine teach, but he also went into knotty questions of theology, solving them for the people. By his doctrine he conquered heresies, and against attackers defended the primacy of the Pope.²⁵

THE AUTHENTICITY OF ST. BERNARDINE'S WORKS

The question of the authenticity of St. Bernardine's works is one which cannot detain us long in this paper. It has already been ably considered by Fr. Aloysius Tassi, O. F. M.,²⁶ and Msgr. Ferrata²⁷ in *Romana*. These scholars have proved that the bulk of the Saint's works as edited by Père de la Haye are genuine and authentic, though certain modifications will be necessary because of facts since brought to light. Thureau-Dangin has this pertinent and satisfying comment:

A collation of the most ancient and reliable Mss. with the edition published by Père de la Haye tends to confirm the authenticity of the bulk of the sermons and treatises edited by him. Some of the discourses of secondary importance are, it is true, proved to be apocryphal and must in future be omitted [notably the sermon, *De expugnatione paradisi*], while others again are found to be of doubtful authenticity and deserving of a closer examination [especially *De pugna spiritali* and the *Commentarū in Apocalypsim*]. Certain repetitions, moreover, might in future be advantageously suppressed, while several sermons and treatises, hitherto ignored among a pile of unexplored Mss. easily to be found in Italian libraries, should reappear among the rest. It is, indeed, devoutly to be wished that the day may come when a critical edition of our Saint's works will be undertaken with the scholarship and impartiality displayed at the present day by the Franciscans of Quaracchi, near Florence, in their edition of the works of S. Bonaventure.²⁸

The order desires a critical edition of Bernardine's works. Even though some minor works are proved not to be his, this will not impair his case for the Doctorate because his other works have ample material that can truly be considered *doctrina eximia*. Since *Romana* was published, various *Prediche Volgari* of the Saint have also been edited.²⁹ Much work remains to be

24. *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 8-9 (italics mine).

25. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 10.

26. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 41-85.

27. *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 11-18.

28. Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-144.

29. These have been edited by Luciano Banchi, Dionisio Pacetti, O. F. M., and Ciro Cannarozzi, O. F. M. See Bibliography at end of this paper.

done in regard to these Italian sermons of the Saint. A critical edition of his works would have to take into consideration both his Latin and his Italian sermons.³⁰

Until a critical edition of Bernardine's works appears, it is strongly urged that there be a new edition of the Ridolfi-De la Haye collection of the Saint's works to help scholars both within and without the order to familiarize themselves with his writings and to spread them the more widely through the Church.

Msgr. Ferrata has a long treatise on the end Bernardine proposed to himself and the method he used in his works.³¹ Bernardine treated all theology:

Bernardinus modo directe, modo indirecte, veritates dogmaticas elucidat, modo polemicis disquisitionibus errores prosternit, modo accurata doctaque exegesi Dei eloquia explanat, modo divina praecepta ac consilia eloquenter commendat, modo denique theoreticas ac practicas agendi normas dilucide proponit et explicat.³²

ST. BERNARDINE'S "EMINENS DOCTRINA"

Considering Bernardine's sermons both in Latin and Italian, we see that he was not a mere compiler, nor just a preacher who explained the ordinary truths of our holy faith. This same fact is culled from the many testimonies given the Saint by learned and holy men through the centuries.

Msgr. Ferrata devotes 123 pages to a consideration of the content of Bernardine's sermons.³³ Herein we see how profound and salutary, and at the same time how special, is the doctrine of Bernardine in many points. It is not our intention to enter into all of this material here. Lack of both time and space forbids such an investigation. Yet this labor is recommended to the scholars of the order and to other friends of Bernardine so that by their united efforts the glory of this great preacher will shine ever more brilliantly before the Church for the good of souls.

It is sufficient for our purpose merely to mention some of the eminent doctrine of the Saint which Msgr. Ferrata and Bishop Facchinetti are careful to point out. Bernardine has works on dogma, apologetics, polemics, exegesis, the religious life, morals, ascetical and mystical theology, and special treatises on the glory of the Holy Name, on the Holy Eucharist, on the Passion, on the Blessed Virgin and her power and privileges, on St. Joseph and other saints. Bernardine teaches the eternal and unconditional predestination of Christ and Mary. The Saint was tireless in proclaiming the absolute and triumphal glory of Jesus as the One Who gives perfect glory to the Father, as the God-Man Who was decreed from all eternity to be the centre of all creation, the crown and source of the world of grace. The motive of the Incarnation is not merely to free us from sin, death, and hell but something far superior to that: the motive is to give glory to God, and this Christ does in a superlative degree.

We must, however, admit Bernardine's great dependence on the doctrine

30. Facchinetti, *op. cit.*, pp. 138-152.

31. *Romana*, IV, pp. 18-30.

32. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 19.

33. *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 30-153; cf. Facchinetti, *op. cit.*, pp. 153-177.

of Ubertino da Casale, the Franciscan Spiritual. It has been proved that the substance of Bernardine's teaching on Christ, the Blessed Virgin, St. Joseph, and on Christian Perfection comes from the book *Arbor Vitae Crucifixae Jesu* by Ubertino.³⁴ Printed only once in Venice in 1485, Bernardine had a manuscript copy of this work and often refers to it in his notes entitled *Itinerarium anni seu sylva praedicabilis*; but he never once mentions either the book or its author in his other works. The *Itinerarium* was Bernardine's private notebook. It is interesting, however, to know that of the 101 chapters of the *Arbor Vitae* Bernardine used no less than 47 directly in his notebook.³⁵ In his penetrating study of this matter Fr. Emmerich Blondeel, O. F. M. Cap., writes:

Pour tout ce qui regarde les sujets christologiques, mariologiques, et ascétiques, Bernardin semble avoir suivi comme trame fondamentale les esposés d'Ubertin. Le plus souvent il n'a fait, tout en reprenant les compositions de l'*Arbor Vitae*, qu'en changer l'ordre et la méthode d'élaboration. Ubertin écrivait pour la lecture et la méditation, il a procédé plutôt par voie d'analyse et d'induction. Bernardin, qui envisageait la prédication et l'instruction orale, adopte la synthèse et la deduction. . . . Cependant, malgré les différences de ces dehors et de cette méthode, on peut assurer que les sermons christologiques, mariologiques et ascétiques, ne font généralement que reproduire plus ou moins servilement les méditations d'Ubertin. Les mêmes doctrines, les mêmes idées, les mêmes mots, les mêmes phrases se rencontrent continuellement de part et d'autre.³⁶

If Bernardine has taken so much of his doctrine from Ubertino da Casale, what merit has Bernardine? We note, first of all, that not all his doctrine is from that source. Not only does the Saint quote other theologians as well as the Fathers and Doctors of the Church, but even the matter taken from Ubertino Bernardine corroborates by using the doctrine of Alexander of Hales and Nicholas of Lyra. Bernardine brings to the doctrine his own insistence, and through his prudent and holy insight he strips Ubertino's teaching of all dangerous ideas, of Joachimite notions, and of other extravagances.³⁷ The notes of Bernardine taken from Ubertino's work exclude the hypothesis that both used a common source. Yet one may well ask where did Ubertino obtain the splendid and elevating doctrine he teaches, especially on the eternal and absolute predestination of Jesus and Mary, on the Name of Jesus, on the universal mediation of Mary, and on the patronage of St. Joseph. Fr. Fredigand Callaey, O. F. M. Cap., presents as sources for Ubertino's *Arbor Vitae* the works of Joachim of Flore, the writings of Bro. Leo, the *Sacrum commercium beati Francisci cum Domina Paupertate*, the *Second Legend of St. Francis* by Thomas of Celano, the works of St. Bonaventure, and the *Postillae* of Peter John Olivi on the Apocalypse. Indeed quite an array of sources!³⁸ Fr. Emmerich adds with good reason that one must still search for the origin of the special doctrines on Christ, Mary and Joseph. The same writer admits

34. P. Emmerich Blondeel D'Isegem, O. F. M. Cap., "L'Influence d'Ubertin de Casale sur les Ecrits de S. Bernardin de Sienne," *Collectanea Franciscana* (Vol. V) (Jan., 1935), pp. 5-44. Ubertino's work dates from 1304.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

36. *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 12, note 2.

the great diffusion and tremendous influence these special doctrines obtained in the Church through St. Bernardine.³⁹

We may still ask why Bernardine did not mention either the *Arbor Vitae* or its author in his own works. First, it was oftentimes customary in the Middle Ages for a writer to keep secret the author and book he was quoting or adapting. There were no strict copyright laws in those days such as we have now. Then, too, Ubertino has his own history, as all know, and even in the time of Bernardine, Ubertino had fallen into discredit in many circles. The *Arbor Vitae* also caused many persons to arch their brows, and thus Bernardine thought it best not to mention the book. He took from it what was good and kept silent about the source. Let the following testimony redound to Bernardine's praise and stand in favor of his own eminent doctrine:

Le tact et la délicatesse du Saint se revelent dans le soin avec lequel il a évité toutes les extravagances, les témérités et les imprécations du fougueux Spirituel [Ubertin], ainsi que dans le choix diligent de ses emprunts. Son talent oratoire lui a inspiré des divisions nouvelles, des agencements et des adaptations plus pénétrantes, des exposés plus synthétiques et plus lumineux.⁴⁰

Moreover, Fr. Emmerich concludes, Bernardine's true merit consists in his happy choice of the portions of the *Arbor Vitae* that could be used, and in the fecundity and popularity which he gave these doctrines through his holy zeal and his powerful personality.⁴¹

Granting that many teachings of Bernardine are taken from Ubertino da Casale, the Saint still has much of his own doctrine. It is odd that Msgr. Ferrata makes no mention of Ubertino's influence on Bernardine; but it is even more strange that the Promoter of the Faith did not bring out this point as an objection! Bernardine elaborated the teachings of Ubertino and others whom he followed, and his zeal and influence brought these doctrines to all corners of Christendom. His defense and propagation of devotion to the Holy Name of Jesus are unexcelled.⁴²

Bernardine has distinct contributions in his teaching on Christ and His

39. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 43.

41. Fr. Emmerich was answered by Fr. Diomede Scaramuzzi, O. F. M., in the article "L'influsso di Ubertino da Casale su S. Bernardino da Siena," *Bullettino di Studi Bernardiniani* I (1935), 94-104. Fr. Scaramuzzi shows that the influence of Ubertino was not in all of Bernardine's works and even tries to limit it still more in those parts in which Fr. Blondeel proves it to exist. Thereupon the latter wrote another article, "Encore L'influence d'Ubertin de Casale sur les Ecrits de S. Bernardin de Sienne," *Collectanea Franciscana* (Vol. VI) (Jan., 1936), pp. 57-76, wherein he shows still more the deep influence of Ubertino on Bernardine; and casts doubt on Fr. Scaramuzzi's claim of Scotistic influence on Ubertino, for historical reasons which seem convincing.

See also the following learned articles by Fr. Diomede Scaramuzzi, O. F. M.: "La dottrina del B. G. Duns Scoto nella predicazione sociale di S. Bernardino da Siena," *Studi Francescani* (Vol. 26) (1929), 215-257; 341-371; "La dottrina del B. G. Duns Scoto nella predicazione apologetico-dogmatica di S. Bernardino da Siena," *Ibid.* (Vol. 26) (1929), 485-521 (Vol. 27) (1930), 72-92; "La dottrina del B. G. Duns Scoto nella predicazione morale, ascetico-mistica di S. Bernardino da Siena," *Ibid.* (Vol. 27) (1930), 93-142.

42. P. Ephrem Longpré, O. F. M., "S. Bernardin de Sienne et Le Nom de Jesus," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* (Vol. 28) (1935), 443-476; (Vol. 29) (1936), 142-168; 443-477.

Kingship; on the Sacred Heart;⁴³ on Mary's Immaculate Conception, perpetual Virginity, Assumption, and universal mediation;⁴⁴ on apologetics; on the resurrection and the glory of the saints.⁴⁵

The moral and social doctrine of Bernardine has been receiving much attention in various books and periodicals in the past decades. His efforts in behalf of peace and justice, charity and chastity, frugality and marriage, were crowned with extraordinary success. He has excellent arguments that can be used against Communism.⁴⁶ Although he inveighed against excessive usury, he saw that money may be considered capable of gaining other money if loaned out. He gives various instances where interest may be received for money.⁴⁷

Bernardine's moral and exegetical teachings are outside the scope of this study; the same is true of his ascetico-mystical doctrine.

The Promoter of the Faith felt that Bernardine had no eminent doctrine. Msgr. Ferrata proved, to the contrary, that Bernardine did have such doctrine, and contended that therefore Bernardine should be declared a Doctor. The defender writes:

Conferantur, speciminis gratia, quae ipse [Bernardinus] praeclare edisseruit de contractibus, de usuris, de restitutione, de inspirationibus, de beatitudinibus, de Christiana religione, de Purgatorio, de poenarum aeternitate, de corporum resurrectione, de factionum partibus, de regimine principum, de Mariae laudibus, de Josephi praerogativis, de pietate erga Jesu nomen, de trina Verbi Dei generatione, de Eucharistiae Sacramento, et aliis innumeris argumentis sive dogmaticis, sive moralibus, sive mysticis, sive exegeticis; conferantur, inquam, ista omnia, cum iis, quae caeteri magistri de iisdem vel diversis materiis conscripserunt; et nedum discrimen nullum apparebit, sed imo, plura quod attinet argumenta, facile eos omnes superavisse concedes.⁴⁸

In another place Msgr. Ferrata gives this testimony of Bernardine's eminent doctrine:

Ecquis ante ipsum [Bernardinum] adeo docte, potenter, nervose accurateque de usuris, de inspirationum materia, de S. Josephi praerogativis, de saluberrima erga Jesu nomen devotione, de B. M. Virginis laudibus, de Eucharistiae Sacramento, aliisque pluribus materiis disputavit? . . . In iis praesertim quae ad theologiam mysticam et asceticam pertinent, tam profundum exiisque theologum se prodit ut a nemine prorsus superetur, sed cum priscis Patribus ac Doctoribus, originalitate etiam inspecta, jure meritoque comparari debeat. Ceterum *originalem Bernardinum in pluribus fuisse et ipsius coevi luculentissime ostendunt*, qui illum ceu novorum dogmatum propugnatorem et a Patrem fontibus devium ad Supremae Inquisitionis tribunal rapuerunt.⁴⁹

43. Cf. *Roman Breviary*, Fifth day within the Octave of the Feast of the Sacred Heart, Third Nocturn.

44. *Romana*, IV, pp. 121-122; Facchinetti, *op. cit.*, pp. 176-180. Cf. Fr. Leonard Bello, O. F. M., "Mary Mediatrix," English Translation in *Third Order Forum* (Vol. 8) (1939), 253 *et seq.*; 285 *et seq.*; (Vol. 9) (1940), 317 *et seq.*; 350 *et seq.*

45. *Romana*, IV, pp. 36-61.

46. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 70.

47. *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 71-73. See also the papers by Fr. Anscar Parsons, O. F. M. Cap., "Economic Significance of the *Montes Pietatis*," *FRANCISCAN STUDIES* XXII (N. S. 1), 3-28, especially p. 18 and note 50; and "St. Bernardine, the Moral Teacher," pp. 341-358 of the present volume.

48. *Romana*, IV, pp. 223-224.

49. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 240 (*italics mine*).

The Promoter of the Faith had complained that Bernardine did not fight against heresy as other Doctors had done. Msgr. Ferrata answers that, first of all, this fact alone would not bar Bernardine from the Doctorate, because the eminent doctrine demanded of a candidate for the Doctorate by Popes Boniface VIII and Benedict XIV need not include works against heresy. Several Doctors wrote very little against heresy (e. g., Sts. Gregory the Great, Leo I, Peter Chrysologus); and in the works of Peter Damian there are only about thirty pages of such writings. Bernardine certainly fought heresy, first in the sense that he taught the true doctrines of the Church, and secondly because he directly wrote against the errors of pagans and against the detractors and opponents of religious life. Bernardine also defended (with solid arguments directed against the errors of his day) the divine institution of the Sacrament of Penance and auricular confession, the eternity of hell's torments, and the resurrection of Christ and of all men.⁵⁰

After his victory over Manfred and the others who fought him for his devotion to the Holy Name of Jesus, Bernardine was praised by Pope Martin V and allowed to preach in Rome for eighty days on the Holy Name. When his enemies tried again to accuse him of heresy before Pope Eugene IV, the Pope issued a document proving how strenuously the Saint fought heresy and defended the Catholic faith. Therein it is said:

Catholicus et christianus fidelissimus sed et *acerrimus et rigorosus haeresum extirpator*, et ob ejus integritatem vitae, laudabiles verbi Dei praedicationes et salutare bonorum operum fructus *praeclarissimus fidei catholicae praedicator et instructor rectissimus* in omni fere Italia et extra inter caeteros famosos evangelizatores verbi Dei praesentis aetatis probatus et notus communiter referatur, . . . quinimo repertus traditionibus et mandatis sacrosanctae Romanae Ecclesiae ejusque Summorum Pontificum, Doctorum et Sanctorum Patrum totis viribus inhaerere ac profiteri et praedicare quidquid eadem sancta Mater Ecclesia jubet et docet, nec ab eis in aliquo deviare, etc.⁵¹

In the bull of canonization of Bernardine, Pope Nicholas V praises him as "praecipuus et magnus inter electos," and says of him: "ministravit Christo, cum membris Christi, hoc est fidelibus Christi, pabulum doctrinae coelestis indesinenter exhibuit."⁵² The breviary says of Bernardine on May 20: "Collapsam pietatem moresque verbo et exemplo magna ex parte restituit. . . Denique vir Dei, immensis laboribus exhaustus, . . . libris etiam pie docteque conscriptis, . . . beato fine quievit."

Having shown that Bernardine teaches eminent doctrine, Msgr. Ferrata tears down all other objections of the Promoter of the Faith regarding the various sermons and methods of the Saint.⁵³ Among other facts, he proves how much other preachers have used Bernardine's works both in his lifetime and ever since. The defender also shows that the works of no man are perfect. Even the Doctors of the Church have at times some mistakes, but such defects do not detract from their main work.⁵⁴

50. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 242.

51. *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 156-157 (*italics mine*).

52. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 158.

53. *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 163-321.

54. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 231.

SHOULD ST. BERNARDINE BE DECLARED A DOCTOR OF THE CHURCH?

From the foregoing, we can justly conclude that there is no major objection to the proposition that St. Bernardine be declared a Doctor. He is a saint and has eminent doctrine. If we consider merely his 311 Latin sermons which contain 844 distinct discourses, we see the truth, the vastness, and the utility of his *doctrina eximia et insignis*. By reason of his *Prediche Volgari* he is the Master of the Franciscan Pulpit and proves himself a Prince of Preachers. He was called the "Fountain of Knowledge." His works, *De Evangelio Aeterno* (1424) and *De Christiana Religione* (1428), would rank him among the Doctors had he written nothing else; while his other works, *De Vita Christiana* (1442) and *De Inspirationibus* (1443 or 1444), suggest a comparison between Bernardine and St. Francis de Sales and St. John of the Cross.

Bernardine is read in the breviary on certain feasts. He is the most modern saint thus honored who is not yet a Doctor. Not only was he the inspiration for preachers of his century, but ever since his time preachers and defenders of Christian doctrine have gone to his sermons for material to be used in their discourses. Preachers, theologians, and popes have quoted him. Pope Pius II praises his "multa doctrina."⁵⁵ Pope Pius XII hopes that Bernardine "may . . . return [and] admonish . . . again by his sweet and gentle voice. . . . Even as of old . . . this hero of evangelical holiness . . . recalled men from error to truth, from sin to penance, . . . so your forthcoming solemnity, by opportunely bringing to light his precepts and wonderful deeds, will bear the same salutary fruits."⁵⁶

Bernardine's insistence on Christ's and Mary's absolute and eternal predestination is also taught by St. Francis de Sales, St. Alphonsus Liguori, Mathias Scheeben, and Canon Sheehan. This doctrine — so dear to the Eastern Doctors, notably St. Cyril of Alexandria and St. Gregory of Nyssa, and proclaimed so unequivocally by Bernardine and other members of the Franciscan School — is corroborated by Pope Pius IX in the bull "Ineffabilis" wherein he declares and defines the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mother of God. Pope Leo XIII quotes Bernardine in the encyclical letter "Jucunda Semper" (September 8, 1894) regarding Mary's universal mediation. Popes Pius X and Benedict XV do the same.⁵⁷ Pope Pius XI teaches the same doctrine, without, however, mentioning Bernardine. The same is true of the present Holy Father. The present *cultus* of Christ the King is the flower of Bernardine's teaching on the sublime glory of Jesus. Christ is King not only on account of the Redemption, but because He was predestined from all eternity to be the absolute, unconditional, and supreme King of all creatures. Bernardine's sermons on the glory of Jesus can be used to great advantage in spreading the "Peace of Christ in the Reign of Christ."

55. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 158.

56. *Letter of Pope Pius XII on St. Bernardine of Siena*, FRANCISCAN STUDIES XXV (N. S. 4), 5.

57. Pius X, *Ad diem illum*, February 2, 1904; Benedict XV in a Letter to the Director of the Perpetual Rosary in Italy. Cf. Raphael V. O'Connell, *Our Lady, Mediatrix Of All Graces* (Murphy, Baltimore, 1926), p. 86 *et passim*. Fr. O'Connell cites St. Bernardine several times as being approved in this matter by Pope Leo XIII and subsequent popes.

Bernardine is mentioned and even quoted by other Doctors of the Church. St. Robert Bellarmine mentions him⁵⁸ and praises his clear doctrine.⁵⁹ St. Alphonsus Liguori frequently quotes Bernardine especially in *The Glories of Mary*. In fact, Msgr. Ferrata is of the opinion that St. Alphonsus follows Bernardine's Marian doctrine most strictly.⁶⁰ Many other writers quote Bernardine, who themselves may be declared Doctors of the Church. Notable in this category are Bl. Grignon de Montfort and Bl. Anthony Maria Claret, Archbishop of Cuba and founder of the Claretians. Bl. Grignon quotes Bernardine with Sts. Bernard and Bonaventure as a principal authority in the golden book *True Devotion to the Blessed Virgin*.⁶¹ Bl. Anthony Mary had a Marian Breviary published with the approval of the Sacred Congregation of Rites in 1859. The object of this book of devotion was to bring together the main praises of Our Lady in the form of hymns and lessons, together with psalms and antiphons. The censors declared all things contained in the book "ad cultum erga Deiparam magis magisque promovendum valde idonea, ejusdemque Beatae Virginis filialem amorem ubique spirantia." Bernardine is listed there with the Fathers and Doctors of the Church, while other writers are listed elsewhere. Moreover, no less than thirty-two homilies of Bernardine are used in this Breviary — more than from any other writer.⁶²

Fr. Ludovico a Castelplano, O. F. M., in his noble work, *Maria nel Consiglio dell'Eterno*, uses Bernardine as his leader and guide in writing a solidly dogmatic and learned book of Mariology.⁶³ Fr. John Crasset, S. J., in his excellent book, *La Vera Divozione verso Maria Vergine*, praises and quotes Bernardine's Marian doctrine.⁶⁴

Msgr. Ferrata cites many other theologians who quote Bernardine with the Fathers and Doctors of the Church.⁶⁵ He also cites Fr. Joachim Ventura, a famous orator of the last century, who calls Bernardine a Doctor of the Church *simpliciter* in the book, *La Madre di Dio Madre degli uomini, ovvero la Santissima Vergine appiè della Croce*. In Part 2, c. 14, Fr. Ventura writes: "È S. Bernardino da Sienna, il Dottore della Chiesa, che più d'ogni altro è entrato colla riflessione a scandagliare il pelago profondo dell'amarezza e del rammarico di Maria appiè della Croce."⁶⁶

In view of the eminent doctrine of Bernardine and such eloquent testimonies from men of various ages to his position as a teacher of Christian doctrine, can the title Doctor of the Church be properly withheld from him? Ferrers Howell writes that he was credibly informed that proceedings to declare Bernardine a Doctor are not likely to be revived.⁶⁷ Since that time we

58. *Romana*, IV, p. 16.

59. Facchinetti, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

60. *Romana*, IV, p. 227. St. Alphonsus M. Liguori, *The Glories of Mary*, edited by Eugene Grimm, C. Ss. R. (Redemptorist Fathers, Brooklyn, 1931).

61. Bl. Grignon de Montfort, *True Devotion to the Blessed Virgin*, translated by Frederick William Faber (Burns and Oates, London, 1904).

62. *Romana*, IV, pp. 135-136.

63. *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 115-116; 229-230.

64. *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 135, 289.

65. *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 231, 232, 293, 300-312.

66. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 234.

67. Ferrers Howell, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

have reason to think differently. Bernardine not only has the qualities of a Doctor, but he has them in an uncommon degree. Bernardine has been teaching his order and the Church for five centuries. He is the "Pillar of the Observance."⁶⁸ When he entered the order there were twenty convents of the Observance with only one hundred and thirty friars; when he died there were two hundred friaries with about four thousand friars.

In this matter of Bernardine's zeal for Franciscan regular observance, Ferrers Howell gives this fine testimony:

The spirit of Francis rested on him [Bernardine]; he wrought directly upon the hearts of men by the power of his unaffected holiness and the constraining influence of his character and preaching. Hence he is truly named the Second Founder of the Friars Minor for he made the order, through the Strict Observance once more a religious power in the Church, and rekindled it with a fire which has never since been quenched.⁶⁹

As Vicar of the Observants, Bernardine killed the last disputes concerning the *arctus usus rerum* by a decree of July 31, 1440. He clarified what the friars could use, with great prudence and discernment.⁷⁰

That Bernardine teaches the order and the Church in other matters should be obvious from what we have said in these pages. The Bollandists declare that from Bernardine's works, as from a rich source, "omnes praeclari Evangelii praedicatores hauserunt, qui fructus uberrimos in horrea Domini congregavere."⁷¹ Pope Nicholas V writes in the bull of Bernardine's canonization that the saint "in amplis voluminibus reliquit posteris dignam suorum laborum memoriam et fructus divini nominis gloriae plenos mellitos sermones ordinans et utilissimos tractatus componens."⁷²

The Promoter of the Faith declared that if Bernardine were made a Doctor many other preachers would also have to receive that honor. Why not, if they are worthy of it? St. Gregory the Great calls the Doctors *Bases Ecclesiae*.⁷³ Is not Mother Church in need of ever more *bases* when we consider the powerful enemies she has ranged against her? Theology tells us the Doctors form the *Os Ecclesiae*. The Doctors are the tongues and mouth of the Church. Since her doctrine is so vast and profound, will she not welcome new tongues, new Doctors? Some thought in the last century that the Church did not wish to make Bernardine a Doctor lest this would set a precedent for more modern Doctors, and the number of them would swell. The number of Doctors can only help the Church and not harm her. Moreover consider how many have been declared Doctors since *Romana* was published in 1877. In that very year St. Francis de Sales became a Doctor. Pope Leo XIII gave the Church four Doctors — St. Cyril of Jerusalem, St. Cyril of Alexandria, the Venerable Bede, and St. John Damascene. St. Ephrem was declared a Doctor by Pope Benedict XV. Pope Pius XI gave us one Doctor of the Thirteenth Century — St. Albert the Great — and three of more modern times — St. John of the Cross, St. Peter Canisius, and St. Robert

68. Victor Mills, O. F. M., *art. cit.*

69. Ferrers Howell, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

70. *Ibid.*, p. 72.

71. *Romana*, IV, p. 317.

72. *Ibid.*

73. *Ibid.*, III, p. 4.

Bellarmino. Hence we need not fear the number of Doctors nor their modernity.

Another noteworthy fact is that the more recent Doctors are experts in special matters of doctrine. Thus St. Peter Canisius is the Doctor of the modern catechism; St. John of the Cross is the Mystical Doctor, the Aquinas of mysticism; and St. Robert Bellarmine is the Doctor of the controversies and of the indirect power of the Church. St. Bernardine would be another Marian Doctor, but he is also an expert in many other matters, as we have seen. Each Doctor teaches the true faith; yet each one has some special emphasis or contribution in the explanation of the faith and in helping the Church in ever-changing circumstances. In this way each Doctor shines with a brilliance peculiar to himself.

The Seraphic order should therefore in all confidence approach the work of spreading Bernardine's doctrine still more through the Church, thus preparing the way for his Doctorate. The order can beg the Holy See to declare Bernardine a Doctor, and ask others in power to do the same. If and when the Holy See decides that all is in readiness, the Church and the order can rejoice in another Seraphic Doctor, who is a Prince of Preachers, an Extirpator of Heresies, a Mystical Theologian, and a Master of Mariology.

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DISCUSSION

FR. MARION HABIG, O. F. M.: — The General Chapter of the Order of Friars Minor in 1862 (not 1882, as I have found stated somewhere, for there was no General Chapter in that year) petitioned the Holy See to declare St. Bernardine a Doctor of the Church; but the inquiry made by the Sacred Congregation of Rites at that time was never brought to a successful issue. It has been said that the reason lay in the fact that a critical edition of all the writings of St. Bernardine was lacking, and that such a critical edition must be prepared and published before St. Bernardine can be declared a Doctor of the Church. Thureau-Dangin, however, in his celebrated life of St. Bernardine, assigns as the probable reason "reluctance to create a precedent for the multiplication of similar demands." If this was the true reason, it would not be a cogent one at the present day; for no less than ten saints have been declared Doctors of the Church since the time when the investigation concerning St. Bernardine was made. One of these is St. Albert the Great; and the fact that in his case a critical edition of his works was not required, indicates that this is not an indispensable condition. In regard to St. Bernardine of Siena, a careful inquiry concerning the authenticity of his works as edited by De la Haye has already been made by Fr. Aloysius Tassi, O. F. M.; and though a new critical edition is very desirable, we believe that it is possible for St. Bernardine to be elevated to the dignity of a Doctor of the Church before a critical edition of his writings is undertaken or at least before it is completed.

In the *Breviarium Romano-Seraphicum* (O. F. M.), there are no less than seven offices containing excerpts from the writings of St. Bernardine, and it may be well to list them in one place:

1. The Solemnity of St. Joseph, Lessons of the Second Nocturn, "Sermo 1 de Sanctis" (on St. Joseph), art. 1, cap. 1-2.

2. Second day within the Octave of the Solemnity of St. Joseph, Lessons of the Second Nocturn, "Sermo 1 de Sanctis" (on St. Joseph), art. 2, cap. 1.

3. Feast of St. Bernardine, May 20, Homily, "Adventuale de Christiana Vita," Sermo 5, art. 3, cap. 3.

4. Feast of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Mediatrix of All Graces, May 31, Homily, "Quadragesimale de Christiana Religione," Sermo 51 "de Passione Domini," pars 2, art. 1, cap. 3.

5. Tuesday within the Octave of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus, Homily, "Quadragesimale de Christiana Religione," Sermo 5.

6. Feast of the Seven Joys of the Blessed Virgin Mary, August 22, Lessons of the Second Nocturn, Sermo 9 (of St. Bernardine's thirteen sermons on the Blessed Virgin "de Visitatione," art. 2, cap. 1.

7. Feast of St. Francis, October 4, Homily, Sermo 3 "de Stigmatibus," art. 1, cap. 2.

(Cf. "The Works of St. Bernardine," *FRANCISCAN STUDIES* XXV (N. S. 4), 1944, in which article mention of nos. 6 and 7 in the above list was overlooked.)

DOGMATIC THEOLOGY IN THE VERNACULAR SERMONS OF ST. BERNARDINE

WHEN Bernardine of Siena entered upon his apostolate as a popular preacher, the false pagan Renaissance was hoisting up the standard of ancient culture with a morbid and exaggerated enthusiasm. This trend, which extolled not only the beauty of literary style but also the way of life contained in the classical Greco-Roman works, had transported not a few individuals to the dense atmosphere of pagan sensuality. It furthered with warmth and eagerness the doctrine of Epicurus, and propagated the new gospel of pleasure, both spiritual or corporal. It regarded ἡδονή as the supreme good, and therefore as the ultimate end of man. It depicted in brilliant colors an unbounded naturalism. It sneered at religious practices. It condemned virginity and monastic vows. It spread a nauseating materialism in the midst of Christian society. And this is not all. Starting from the assumption of the identity of created nature with God, it concluded that what nature produced and formed, can be only holy and praiseworthy. With this affirmation humanism declared the equality of the creature with its Creator and thus undermined the very foundation of Christianity and destroyed the bases of Catholic morals.¹

The Church was rent by schism, and the confusion that reigned within Christianity was enormous. Cities, provinces, and nations disputed as to who was the legitimate Pope. So heated were the discussions and quarrels that they often terminated in bloodshed.

Everywhere there was reciprocal accusation of schism; two colleges of cardinals, in many dioceses two bishops, in numerous monasteries two abbots, in many parishes two pastors. . . . Lacerated in a hostile fashion [were] the religious orders, the orders of knighthood, universities, and even families.²

The immensity of the misfortune hurled against the Church can be appreciated still more when we consider that the schism burst forth when the necessity of a general reform made itself the more keenly felt. The reform was rejected, and both discipline and morals continued to decline.³

The miserable spectacle of nepotism continued on the part of the popes, and with it the abuse of the plurality of benefices and the scandal of concubinage.

The peril was aggravated by insidious heresies. Wycliffe preached that the pope is Antichrist and a member of Lucifer; Scripture is the only source of revelation; the validity of the Sacraments and the exercise of sacred power are proportioned to the priest's state of grace; the true Presence, auricular confession, and indulgences are to be rejected; men are predestined, some to glory and some to damnation; to the former, crimes are no detriment, to the

1. Cf. Ludwig Pastor, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages*, (5th ed., Herder, St. Louis, 1923), I, Introduction, pp. 15 *et seq.*

2. L. Todesco, *Corso di Storia della Chiesa*, (Marietti, Torino-Roma, 1922-29) IV, 34. Quoting Ludolfo di Sagan, Todesco states: "Surrexit regnum contra regnum, provincia contra provinciam, clerus contra clerum, doctores contra doctores, parentes in filios et filii in parentes."

3. *Ibid.*

latter, good works bring no advantage; the Church is the society of those predestined to glory, and thus she is invisible.⁴

By virtue of the marriage of Richard II of England to Ann of Bohemia (1381), and by reason of the ensuing relations between the University of Oxford and that of Prague, the doctrines of Wycliffe penetrated the realm of St. Wenceslaus, and had an ardent propagator in the person of John Hus.⁵ This heresiarch, after having attacked the ecclesiastical hierarchy, assailed John XXIII, who was guilty of having proclaimed a crusade against Ladislaus, King of Naples. While his adherents were burning the papal bull excommunicating Hus and interdicting Prague, he appealed from the Pope to Christ "the sole head of the Church." Among the thirty propositions condemned by the Council of Constance we find the following:

Petrus non est nec fuit caput Ecclesiae. Papalis dignitas a Caesare inolevit et papae institutio a Caesaris potentia emanavit. Nemo gerit vicem Christi vel Petri, nisi sequatur eum in moribus. Unica est sancta universalis Ecclesia, quae est praedestinatorum universitas. Nullus est dominus civilis dum est in peccato mortali.⁶

Thus together with the papacy Hus also attacked the power of the civil state.

The desire to remedy the evil of the schism had revived the opinion that in extraordinary cases the council is superior to the pope. This idea was backed by two chancellors of the Sorbonne, Peter d'Ailly⁷ and John Gerson.⁸ The primacy of the pope was denied; in fact, it was claimed that it was an indifferent matter as to how many popes there might be, and that every

4. The following are some of the propositions condemned by the Council of Constance: a. "Si episcopus vel sacerdos existat in peccato mortali, non ordinat, non consecrat, non conficit, non baptizat." b. "Si homo fuerit debite contritus, omnis confessio exterior est inutilis." c. "Fatuum est credere indulgentiis papae et episcoporum." d. "Ecclesia Romana est synagoga Satanae." e. "Oratio praesciti nulli valet." Cf. Todesco, *op. cit.*, IV, 36.

5. Cf. Todesco, *op. cit.*, IV, 35.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 53.

7. Ever since 1381 Peter d'Ailly had been proposing a council as a remedy for the Schism. This council was to consist of bishops and doctors in theology and canon law. Known as *Aquila Franciae*, he wrote a treatise *De Ecclesiae, Concilii generalis et Summi Pontificis auctoritate*. He taught that there could be a conflict between a truth of faith and a truth of reason, and that Christ had directly given power to the faithful.

8. Gerson, *Doctor Christianissimus*, was a disciple of d'Ailly. Gerson developed the doctrines of d'Ailly and of the Germans, Conrad von Gelhausen and Henry von Langenstein. He taught: "Potestas est in universitate tamquam in fundamento, et in papa tamquam in principali ministro." Gerson taught that not only the council but also the community of the faithful could depose the Pope. Among Gerson's numerous works is one entitled *De Auferabilitate papae ab ecclesia*. There he examines the cases wherein a council could depose the pope. In *De potestate ecclesiastica*, Gerson teaches the superiority of the council over the pope, denies papal infallibility and gives secular pastors (not regulars) a vote in councils, since the pastors are to be considered the successors of the seventy disciples of Christ. Cf. Todesco, IV, 44 *et seq.*

It is hardly necessary to note that the titles given these two men (d'Ailly and Gerson) are highly exaggerated. An *Eagle*—even of France—would fly in a mental blue much clearer and unclouded than the doctrine of d'Ailly; and a *Doctor Christianissimus* worthy of the name would have a more correct notion of the gospel texts regarding the primacy and papal infallibility. In other matters, however, Gerson and d'Ailly were devout, especially in promoting and defending the cult of St. Joseph. Gerson gave a sermon at the Council defending Mary's Immaculate Conception.

nation might have its own. Regarding the council, it was said that not only bishops but also doctors and pastors should take part. According to the "Multitudinarians," the simple laity, including women, should participate, because the power of the Church is vested in the multitude of the faithful, who communicate it to the pope and bishops; even the ecumenical council is capable of erring: the Universal Church alone is infallible.⁹

These errors, which subjected the papacy to civil authority, which constituted within the Church a legislative body substantially independent of the pope and converted into a constitutional system the true monarchical character of the Church of Christ, were appallingly rampant among the clergy in the first half of the Fifteenth Century. Not only in theory was the superiority of the council over the pope proclaimed,¹⁰ but in practice too they appealed from the pope to the council; the infallibility of the council was proclaimed¹¹ and the necessity of its periodic celebration was decreed.¹²

The errors of St. Bernardine's era, as one can readily see from this skeletal exposition, were of a universal character. The adversaries of Catholic doctrine in this period of transition, did not deny merely a few dogmas, as had been the case formerly; but they struck all of them at their very root.

To support their negation they made use of genuine and feigned abuses of ecclesiastical life, and as an urge to arouse the malcontented and to stimulate the multitudes, they clamored for reform of the Church in its head and members. Thus, by degrees, everything became uncertain, everything was steeped in doubt.¹³

Bernardine of Siena in his long apostolate of forty years exercised throughout the principal cities and towns of Italy, in the churches and squares, surrounded by an audience composed of every sort of person, for two and even three hours preached, enlightening the minds and moving the wills of his listeners, breaking for them the bread of the doctrine of the Church, putting the faithful on their guard against pernicious errors. The preaching of St. Bernardine had an entirely popular character. Therefore we are not to expect profound sermons on theological and metaphysical problems, such as the great orators have given in addressing learned audiences.¹⁴ Moreover, if we exclude the course of 1427 delivered at Siena (where the stenographer Benedetto di Messer Bartolomeo collected the sermons "word by word, omitting not the least minute word that issued forth from that holy mouth"¹⁵), we possess little more than a summary¹⁶ of the other series of

9. Todesco, *op. cit.*, IV, 43 *et seq.*

10. Cf. the declarations of the third, fourth and fifth sessions of the Council of Constance where it proclaims the superiority of the council over the pope. These declarations, needless to say, were not ratified by Pope Martin V when he approved the said Council.

11. Cf. Nicholas of Cusa, *De Concordia Catholica*.

12. Decrees of the Council of Constance. Cf. Pastor, *op. cit.*, I, 206-207.

13. Hergenröther-Kirsch, *Storia Universale della Chiesa* (Prima Traduzione Italiana, del P. Enrico Rosa, S. J.) (Libreria Editrice Fiorentina, Firenze, 1907-1923), V, 90.

14. Cf. the courses of sermons held at the Cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris by Frayssinous, Lacordaire, Ventura, Ravignan, Felix, Monsabré, etc.

15. Luciano Banchi, *Le Prediche Volgari di S. Bernardino da Siena dette nella Piazza del Campo l'anno 1427*, (Siena, 1880) 1, pp. 4 *et seq.*

16. We have four courses of St. Bernardine's popular sermons edited by various persons. (See Bibliography.)

Bernardine's courses. Our study, as a consequence, is narrowed to a panoramic examination of these sermons in the vernacular. But this material, although only summary, is more than sufficient, because, from the calm exposition of dogma contained in these sermons, there gushes forth the profound and orthodox theological culture of the mind of St. Bernardine of Siena. He does not occupy himself with his opponents; he does not even mention them. He confutes them indirectly by exposing the Catholic dogma or truth to be professed, proving it with arguments from authority and reason, deducing therefrom theological conclusions of vast theoretical and practical importance, striving to move the will of those who listen to him. He captivates, animates and affects them even to tears and sighs. In speaking to the faithful, he presupposes belief in the fundamental truths of Christianity, such as the existence of God, creation, and the divinity of Christ. To delay in demonstrating such dogmas would probably have been an insult to the audience.

This study reveals not only the grace and coolness, the nobility and limpidity of the Bernardinian style of speaking, but above all the fact that Bernardine of Siena amid so many aberrations, intellectual as well as moral, never digressed from the doctrine of the Church. This proves he was a man of vast and profound theological convictions, a man of equilibrium, who first practised the Gospel before teaching it to others.

DE FONTIBUS DIVINAE REVELATIONIS

Albeit Bernardine in his sermons insists upon arguments of reason and propriety, he draws extensively from the two founts of divine revelation, citing them as having parallel authority.

Sacred Scripture is "teeming with marrow and maxims."¹⁷ Study is essential, particularly the study of Sacred Scripture. Why? Because Holy Scripture "is full of God."¹⁸ After having quoted a passage of the sacred text, he is wont to add, "In which sacred language;"¹⁹ or he prefaces his quotation with, "Whence Holy Scripture says."²⁰ The soul tends after the delight it experiences in studying "Holy Scripture, or any other holy book: it imbues the mind with so much pleasure that it outstrips all others."²¹ Scripture is literally the Word of God: "In Proverbs we read: 'He that curseth his father and mother, his lamp shall be put out in the midst of darkness,' says God."²² As far as St. Bernardine is concerned, the whole of Scripture is the written Word of God; all Scripture is holy, is sacrosanct because it has a

17. "Predica 17," on the last day of Carnival, Florence, 1425. This and similar quotations are taken from the two works by Dionisio Pacetti, *S. Bernardino da Siena, Le Prediche Volgari Inedite: Firenze, 1424, 1425; Siena, 1425*, and *S. Bernardino da Siena, Le Prediche Volgari, Campo di Siena 1427* (Classici Cristiani, 56, 55). Cantagalli, Siena, 1935.

18. *Ibid.*

19. "Predica 52," on the Gospel account of Mary Magdalen (Florence, 1425).

20. Cf. "Predica 55," "On the Vanity of the World."

21. "Predica 17" (cf. *supra* footnote 17).

22. "Predica 27," "On the Evils of Blasphemy" (Codex F. 6, 1329, of the National Library in Florence). The Florence course of 1424. Cf. Prov. 20:20.

divine origin (Inspiration); and, being full of God, it is infallible (Unerrancy). As a result it has an absolute authority; hence to study it is a duty. We seem almost to be reading from St. Thomas when Bernardine says: "Scripturae enim divinae a Spiritu Sancto traditae non potest falsum subesse, sicut nec fidei, quae per eam docetur."²³

Giving it the same authority as Scripture, Bernardine adduces divine tradition. "When Adam was created, what knowledge had he? All of these (i. e., knowledge of nature, of God and the supernatural world), the Doctors admit; and thus do I also believe."²⁴ "And if Adam had it, the Virgin Mary who never sinned, had it in a still higher degree. And thus do the Doctors agree."²⁵ "And thus St. Jerome says."²⁶ "Even St. Dionysius says," and many other similar modes of expression abound in his works. The irrefragable authority which he ascribes to the Fathers would be unintelligible and inexplicable did Albizzeschi not see in them the concordant echo of the Church's doctrine, and in their moral unanimity another font of divine revelation, namely, divine tradition.

DE ECCLESIA

Christ did not will that His redemptive labor should terminate at His death. He instituted an authentic hierarchico-monarchical society to which He entrusted the mission received from His Father, investing it with a spiritual authority which has three manifestations: "Potestas docendi, regendi, sanctificandi." The Church itself, however, is formed of beings composed of body (material element) and soul (spiritual element). Bernardine distinguishes perfectly in the hierarchy of the Church between the human element, with all its miseries, and the supernatural element — between the man and the representative of God.²⁷ Preaching on the respect due to sacred things, he brings forth the following passage from St. Matthew's Gospel: *Super cathedram Moysi sederunt scribae et Pharisei*.²⁸ *Cathedra*, he explains, means the ecclesiastical hierarchy, namely the "pope, cardinals, archbishops, bishops, prelates, priests, friars, monks, abbots, and every other rank in Holy Church."²⁹ "The third splendor or ray is personal reverence, that is, in the persons that serve God, namely friars, priests, monks, abbots, bishops, archbishops, patriarchs, cardinals, popes, and every other cleric ordained by Mother Church."³⁰ And he affirms that if some one of the members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy does not lead a life in conformity with his proper calling, there is still to be revered in him the representative of God and the indelible character which he bears engraven in his soul.

23. S. Thomae Aquinatis *De Potentia*, q. 4a, 1, *in corpore, circa initium*.

24. "Predica 51," "On the Incarnation," (Florence, 1424).

25. *Ibid.*

26. *Ibid.*

27. Cf. "Predica 14," Florence, 1424, "On Respect for Sacred Things." The Saint treated of this matter also in "Predica 29," Siena, 1425; and in other passages. Codex Maglia. XXXV, 240, pp. 169-174.

28. Matt. 23:2.

29. "Predica 14."

30. *Ibid.*

There are four reasons that constrain you to have respect for priests and prelates,³¹ albeit there be among them some bad ones. He who slanders friars, priests, or other regulars, does it either out of hypocrisy or to elevate himself. This I say not to favor the bad, but to defend God in them. If a priest be evil, the enemy will bear him away. Were you to send a wicked official to a place as a representative of the Signoria of Florence, should he not still be obeyed, not for himself, but for the dignity given him³² by the Commune of Florence? Certainly. I would rather honor a true pope in this world, than if the Apostle St. Peter were to come down from heaven; because the pope, however wicked, represents God and is His Vicar. Cannot a ruler who is a thief have another thief hung? Most certainly. Solely by virtue of his office and authority.³³

The priest is the representative of God. Hence he is to be honored: whoever honors the priest, honors God.

The reason why we should have respect for him [the priest] is his dignity. The dignity attached to a priest, the vicar of God, represents the justice and reverence of God. Power is given him to take away your sins and infuse grace; and were he not to do what he should, he is still a priest, and you must reverence him as the vicar of God.³⁴

The Saint illustrates his statement with the example of St. Francis, who in the presence of one who accused a priest of leading a bad life, "went to the feet of that priest, threw himself on his knees and kissed his hands, giving all to understand that the priest's sins did not take away his priestly dignity."³⁵

It is better to have priests who are only a little good than to have none at all.

Should the priest be wicked and so ignorant that he know not how to cure your maladies of soul, you can still go to another. But remember that he is a priest; and have respect for his dignity. Were all the bad [priests] to be driven away, only a few good ones would remain. It is a lesser evil to have them not good, than to have none. If you had a defective hand, would you cut off your head to cure your hand? Absolutely not! And if you had a broken head, would you cut it off in order not to have a broken head? No indeed! A broken head is better than one cut off. Bad priests are broken heads; theirs is the loss. Receive from them what is good—the Sacraments and their dignity; and leave them what is bad.³⁶

He places his finger on the sore spot of the era, by showing that reform was demanded *in capite et in Romana curia*. He openly says that in the Church Militant there will always be good and bad, as in the field cockle grows with the good grain, and in the net there are good and bad fish. "It is impossible to reform the Church, if the head does not first agree with its members. First the pope should be good; and the members, namely all the Christian peoples and rulers, should be good. Never will there be a reform of the Church in general; but in part, it is possible."³⁷

31. Codex Maglia. has "plelati."

32. Codex Maglia. has "datoli."

33. Foll. 44.

34. "Predica 14" (cf. footnote 27).

35. This episode is related by Stefano da Borbone, O. P., as having occurred in a town of Lombardy. Cf. Hilarin Felder, O. F. M. Cap., *The Ideals of St. Francis*, translated by Berchmans Bittle, O. F. M. Cap. (New York, 1925), p. 42.

36. "Predica 14" (cf. footnote 27).

37. *Ibid.*

Bernardine was also a strenuous "supporter of the infallibility of the pope and gave a restrictive interpretation to the maxim, *Extra Ecclesiam nulla salus*; for which reason he even reprimanded Dante insofar as he had placed infidels in Limbo."³⁸

From a practical and homiletic aspect Siena's great orator makes weighty observations. To reveal (in the pulpit) the evils of the clergy does not better the audience, but harms it.

Do you wish to cause injury to bad [priests] without sin, but with merit? Then try to favor the good ones as much as possible. . . . From him [the priest] take what is good, . . . because [he] keeps you in grace, opens to you the portals of heaven and the glory of life eternal. By his authority he remits your sins. Consider your own good. . . . Take the light given you by them [the priests] for their authority, not to lead a bad life because the sin remains with them.³⁹

In other words, "take the kernel and leave the husk." A golden maxim, which should be present to every Catholic when he finds a preacher of a holy law, the tenor of whose life is not in accord with the rectitude of the law he preaches.

The power of the priest surpasses the power of every created being.

How much power is there in the priest? So much, and such great power, that no devil can overcome him. Moreover [he has] more power than the angels in paradise; and, hear a greater fact: he has more power than the Blessed Virgin herself.

Now listen to the reason, that you may not wonder: because no angel, no saint in paradise, not even the Virgin Mary, has the power to consecrate the Body of Jesus Christ, which the priest has. Thus you see how much power . . . is in him, and how much dignity is his.⁴⁰

"Predica 14" of the series shows with great power how Bernardine treats of theology and manifests his dogmatic competence in blending the treatise *De Ecclesia* with the treatise *De Ordine*; the power of the magistracy and jurisdiction with the sanctifying power.

DE VERBO INCARNATO ET REDEMPTORE

If we leave the consideration of the Mystical Body of Christ for Bernardine's teaching on His physical Body, or the human nature assumed by the Person of the Word in the Incarnation, we find expressions of truly sublime tenderness. A true son of that Francis who wept for emotion in considering the love shown by Jesus to mankind in His Incarnation and in His birth, Bernardine of Siena refers in numerous places to this mystery, and it appears to be an inexhaustible mine for his consideration. Let us examine several excerpts from the "Predica 51" of the Lenten course of Florence (1425).

He employs as his text the verse of the Psalm, *In sole posuit tabernaculum suum*,⁴¹ and with four propositions (which are in truth four scholarly

38. Treccani, "S. Bernardino da Siena" *Enciclopedia Italiana* (Milano, 1929-1938).

39. "Predica 14" (cf. footnote 27).

40. *Ibid.*

41. Ps. 18:6.

lines), he places before his hearers the entire treatise *De Verbo Incarnato et Redemptore*, that is, the Divinity of Christ, the virginal Maternity of Mary, and the end of the Incarnation. "What is His tabernacle? The Virgin Mary. What was placed in that tabernacle? The Son of God. Who placed Him therein? The Holy Ghost: *Qui conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto*. The One Who decrees the placing is the Father, the One placed is the Son, the One Who places is the Holy Spirit."

When the Virgin had pronounced the words of consent, *Ecce ancilla Domini, fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum*,⁴² she conceived "the Son of God with all her sentiments: and He was so tiny that in size He did not equal the eye of a needle."

The motive of the Incarnation was love: "Who placed Him [in the womb of the Virgin]? Love." The end of the Incarnation of the Word was the salvation of souls.

We must first contemplate why God came from Heaven to earth. . . . Because the soul is a thing so highly prized, He descended from Heaven to earth and He became incarnate by the Holy Ghost, solely to save souls, whom He loved so much.

God sent His Son into the world to save souls. Become flesh in the womb, He stayed enclosed in the womb of Mary nine months . . . and was born through the power of the Holy Ghost, finding Himself at His nativity in a vile place, in dire need; and all this just for souls.⁴³

Countless are the places where the Saint explicitly affirms that Jesus, as Redeemer, has freed man from the bonds of sin, restoring to him the right to grace and glory. "And because Jesus, coming into this world for our redemption, willed it,"⁴⁴ Christ in the Incarnation took upon Himself all our miseries save ignorance and sin. "What does the city of Samaria mean? The Incarnation of God. A grave thing! He came to take up labor. When? *Quando Verbum caro factum est, et habitavit in nobis*."⁴⁵ "Whence Isaiah says,⁴⁶ *Languores nostros ipse portavit, et poenas nostras ipse tulit*. . . . And He bore all our burdens, save ignorance and sin."⁴⁷ Jesus has ransomed us at a dear price. "From heaven to earth the King of Paradise descended. Dearly hath He bought us!"⁴⁸

DE BEATA MARIA VIRGINE

St. Bernardine "delighted above all to speak of the Blessed Virgin; his biographers reveal that then his ascetic face radiated as though transfigured

42. Luke 1:38.

43. "Predica 51," Florence, 1425. In his Latin sermons the Saint discusses more profound reasons for the Incarnation — divine primordial love and the absolute glory of Christ as Universal King.

44. "Predica 25," Florence, 1427.

45. John 1:14.

46. Isaiah 53:4. Note that the text is slightly different from the later Clementine Vulgate.

47. Cf. "Predica 42," Florence, 1427.

48. *Ibid.*

by celestial light."⁴⁹ The Madonna "*ab aeterno* was ordained to be a singular woman," hence her soul from her very creation was embellished with all virtues. Bernardine holds that as she was conceived in the womb of her mother, her soul was infused. At Florence in 1427 ("Predica 42") the Saint said:

I say conceived when her soul was infused. . . . However that soul was infused with all the virtues that she would ever have, regardless of the fact that at the conception of the Son of God she would increase them. The soul of Mary was endowed with a knowledge quite unique, because it embraced a fourfold intelligence, an intelligence of four kinds — corporal, rational, spiritual, and divine or infused, which include in themselves the knowledge of the Creator and all creatures. She knew God better, while in her mother's womb, than did all who were ever under the sun, or shall ever be, from Adam till then, and from Christ till the end of time.

From this wholly unique and extraordinary knowledge with which Mary's soul was enriched, St. Bernardine deduces the remarkably great love she bore for God. If love increases in proportion to knowledge, the Virgin who had such a lofty knowledge of God, must have had a love for Him that would surpass the love of all creatures, Christ excepted. "The soul of the Virgin Mary was so fervent and burning with love, that were you to garner all the fire and heat possible, it would amount to nothing. Whence springs love? From knowledge," Bernardine declared in Florence in 1425 ("Predica 51").

What shall we say of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception so highly treasured by the Franciscan School? St. Bernardine avers, with all the earnestness of his loving soul, that Mary was conceived without original sin. Commenting upon the scriptural passage, *Et in capite ejus corona stellarum duodecim*,⁵⁰ he says:

Her second star was that she was conceived without original sin, and was preserved from sin. And if you hold the contrary opinion? You would not be damned, for Holy Church has not [as yet] approved it.⁵¹ But what should the devout mind hold? That she was conceived free from original sin. Now, if St. John and other saints were sanctified in their mothers' wombs, would not God have honored His Mother more than all others? As He had commanded — *Honora patrem tuum et matrem tuam*.⁵²

Her third star was that in her there was no inclination to sin, that is, in Mary the proneness to actual sin, be it mortal or venial, was quelled so that it was impossible that she should sin, since the incentives that urge us on to sin were absent in her.⁵³

The basis of all the dignity and of all the sanctity and all the prerogatives conceded to Mary, is, as is obvious, the Divine Maternity.

49. Cf. Johannes De La Haye, *Sancti Bernardini Senensis, Ordinis Seraphici Minorum, Opera Omnia* (Venezia, 1745), Tom. I, 34. The words quoted are from St. John Capistran.

50. Apoc. 12:1.

51. Pope Pius IX defined the dogma of Mary's Immaculate Conception on December 8, 1854, more than four centuries after St. Bernardine defended and preached it. Cf. Pacetti, *S. Bernardino da Siena, Le Prediche Volgari Inedite* (Siena, 1935), p. 330.

52. Exod. 20:12.

53. Cf. Pacetti, *op. cit.*, pp. 330, 333.

DE DEO UNO ET TRINO

Merely to cite the many passages where St. Bernardine treats of the divine attributes and of the Three Persons of the Trinity, would cause us to digress from our purpose. A few must suffice.

Besides revelation, we acquire knowledge of God from the book of nature. "I declare that in a radiant intellect four kinds of knowledge are contained, which embrace in themselves the knowledge of the Creator and all creatures."⁵⁴

God is immutable. He does not change on account of all our gratitude or ingratitude for His benefits. "God does not alter Himself because of your thanking Him for the benefits He has bestowed upon you."⁵⁵ God is merciful, and His mercy welcomes whoever has recourse to Him. "Come, My soul, for I wish to receive you! Do not despair, if you have been wicked. . . . Turn unto Me, and I will receive you."⁵⁶ "How great is the mercy of God to him who has need of it."⁵⁷ God is infinitely wise. "Who is wise? God. *Sapientia ejus infinita est*: His wisdom is infinite."⁵⁸ "You cannot deceive God, because God knows everything within and without."⁵⁹ God wills, and the proper object of His will is goodness. "The will of God wills nought save what is good."⁶⁰

The Saint also speaks of the Blessed Trinity in his sermon on the Incarnation, and in treating of the theophany at the Jordan.

DE DEO CREANTE

Among the divine names there is the name of "God": this name, according to St. Bernardine, signifies "Creator." "Only One is the Creator: and this is what we mean when we say God."⁶¹

Elohim created everything, and Bernardine proves it from Scripture. *Omnia in sapientia fecisti*."⁶² God made the empyrean sky. "Consider first, who created it? God. Why? For His only Son and for the Virgin Mary and the Angels and for all mankind."⁶³ God created man *de limo terrae*. "God created man of the earth, that through his humility he might go to refill those hallowed places."⁶⁴ God created even tiny vermin. "Why did God make fleas, flies, and spiders? For what? So that He could use them as examples to teach us! *Quia diligentibus Deum omnia cooperantur in bonum*, says St. Paul."⁶⁵

54. "Predica 51," Florence, 1425.

55. "Predica 32," Florence, 1425.

56. "Predica 52," Florence, 1425.

57. "Predica 42," Florence, 1425.

58. "Predica 32," Florence, 1425.

59. "Predica 41," Siena, 1425.

60. "Predica 17," Siena, 1425.

61. "Predica 51," Siena, 1425.

62. Ps. 103:24.

63. "Predica 51," Siena, 1425.

64. "Predica 25," Florence, 1424.

65. "Predica 44," Florence, 1424. Cf. Rom. 8:28.

DE GRATIA CHRISTI

Bernardine discusses the mysterious action of grace, in his sermon on the Samaritan woman; and in the same sermon he gives a magnificent example of pedagogy in the method used by Christ for the conversion of this woman of Sichar.

Christ is the meritorious cause of grace. In fact He is the fountain of living water, or rather the fountain of grace "that we may all partake of His fullness, and that He may give us His grace. What is the fountain of living water? The fountain of grace."⁶⁶

Justification embraces the negative element (destruction of sin in the soul) and the positive element (infusion of grace).

Da mihi bibere! See, He asks you for your heart. . . . Give Me the water of your heart, the dewdrops of your tears. . . . On the one hand He requests your sins. . . . He requests your sins, when you confess well . . . , to exchange sins for grace. . . . Give Him your guilt, and He gives you grace. . . . And she looked at Him askance, saying, *Quomodo cum tu sis Judaeus, bibere a me poscis, quae sum mulier Samaritana? non enim contuntur Judaei Samaritanis.* . . . See, even now her heart begins to be inflamed: it means her soul is changed, and she herself is not aware of it.⁶⁷

To do good and to avoid evil, actual grace is necessary.

That which I have said, is doctrine which has been taught by my Lord Jesus Christ, Who is the highest good. And this is indeed His own, and not mine: for I know that I am bad, and He is all-good; and I clearly know that I, of myself, would commit every evil. I would kill, . . . I would steal, I would perpetrate every iniquity, were God not to keep me under His holy hand. . . . Who is the principal source of good? God, from Whom it begins; and through this good, glory is given unto Him.⁶⁸

Under the influence of grace man still retains his free will. "*Si scires donum Dei, et quis est qui tibi dicit: Da mihi bibere, tu forsitan petisses ab eo, et dedisset tibi aquam vivam.* He says *forsitan*: He places it in doubt, because there is the liberty of free will."⁶⁹

DE SACRAMENTIS

Monumental are the words of the Council of Trent concerning the utility and necessity of the Sacraments: "per ea vera justitia vel incipit vel coepta augetur vel amissa reparatur."⁷⁰ They are the channels of grace that signify, contain and give grace *ex opere operato*, to everyone who places no obstacle. The Sacraments are the "sacred vessels" that hold the blood and merits of Christ.

St. Bernardine speaking of the respect due sacred things, and of the reverence proper to the church, says:

66. "Predica 42," Florence, 1424.

67. *Ibid.*

68. "Predica 41," Siena, 1425.

69. "Predica 42," Florence, 1424.

70. Conc. Trid., Sess. VII et XIII (Denzinger-Bannwart, *Enchiridion Symbolorum*, Herder, Friburgi, 1928).

The fourth reason is the grace of God that we receive in church. First, holy Baptism, which cleanses you from original sin; then the Confirmation with Chrism, which is administered by the bishop; then Penance, which the confessor confers who forgives your mortal sins and gives you grace. The Sacrament of the Body of Christ! O what a tremendous thing! A thing of fear and reverence. . . .⁷¹

Let us begin first of all with the Sacrament of Penance. In "Predica 26" of the 1425 Florence series, the Saint asks: "In what manner must you confess?"⁷² He teaches the necessity of a confession well made. In his preamble, commenting on the passage, *Recogitabo tibi omnes annos meos in amaritudine animae meae*,⁷³ he categorically says, "You cannot be saved, if you do not confess as you should."

Then he speaks of the examination of conscience as a means to obtain the integrity of confession.

First, think of the sins you have committed. The more you have sinned, so much the more think of it. And if you wish me to teach you — you who have gone twenty years without confession, use this method if you wish to save yourself, otherwise you will never save yourself: These twenty years, where was I? who was with me? — And you will begin to remember: I am guilty of such and such a fraud; I made this and this agreement; I did this and this, and even this. Thus continue from day to day, from year to year.

The accusation of sins must be universal, that is, we must declare all our mortal sins committed after Baptism and not yet subjected to the power of the keys, or those not declared according to the species, number, and circumstances. He who through negligence in the examination of conscience, or through shame omits the accusation of one of these essential elements, does not make his confession well.

One confesses, but does not manifest the sin in such a way that it is clear. And this can happen in two ways: one conceals either a sin or a circumstance. If it is a grave sin that he will not risk [telling], let it be clear that God will not forgive it. God is magnanimous: He either forgives everything or naught. . . . And if there is sin in body or in soul which you have not told, the Holy Spirit cannot enter therein [in the soul], for grace and sin cannot dwell together. Light and darkness cannot remain [in the same place]: thus Christ and the devil do not stay in the same place, since, for a single sin, the devil remains in him who has not confessed it.⁷⁴

St. Bernardine inveighs also against those penitents who go about in quest of confessors who are lenient. He likens this sort of sinner to the spider who eludes the fire. "What does it mean to fly from fire? It means that he [the sinner] shuns a good confessor who would reprove him; and he goes to a rather broad-minded one, who absolves him and sends him to paradise with coat and shoes on."⁷⁵

Confession, as all the Sacraments in general, is decreed for the Holy Eucharist. The Blessed Sacrament is the center of the Sacraments,⁷⁶ because the Eucharist contains not only grace, but the Font and Author of grace.

71. "Predica 14," Florence, 1425.

72. "Predica 26," Florence, 1425.

73. Isaias 38:15.

74. "Predica 33," Florence, 1425.

75. "Predica 44," Florence, 1425.

76. Cf. St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica* (Marietti, Taurini, 1915), 3, q. 65, a. 3.

In this Sacrament Christ "divitias divini sui erga homines amoris velut effudit, memoriam faciens mirabilium suorum."⁷⁷ Under the Eucharistic accidents there is "vere, realiter, et substantialiter corpus et sanguis una cum anima et divinitate Domini nostri Jesu Christi."⁷⁸

The second reason [he speaks of respect for the church] is the presence of the Body of Jesus Christ: it is always in church, or must be consecrated at the main altar. Go to the main altar, when you enter church, and adore it; don't go to the painted murals. Having first made due reverence to the Body of Christ, go to the figures which represent devout Saints, . . . but first to God, and then to them for the love of God.⁷⁹

The Eucharist is the sacrament of divine love and omnipotence:

Among all the things God has ever made, in majesty, in power and in vastness, this was the work more full of charity than any other God has ever shown human nature, not so much to the angels as to us: since He could not give a greater thing than that which He first gave to His disciples and then to us. What was it? . . . He gave Himself to eat and drink and He transformed us into Himself.⁸⁰

The duty to communicate is imperative. "Every Christian is bound about the age of the use of reason [to communicate]. You cannot receive [Communion], if you do not confess; you cannot confess if you do not repent; and not repenting, you cannot save yourself."⁸¹ The Gospel says: He who eats My flesh and drinks My blood has life everlasting."⁸²

To receive this admirable Sacrament *sacramentaliter simul et spiritualiter* we must have the nuptial garment and all the other dispositions of soul⁸³ that are necessary to receive Holy Communion with fruit.

All of you prepare yourselves for this Holy Communion with Confession [state of grace] . . . ; and the day before Confession, fast; and on the night [before] retire fully clad, and sleep but sparingly, and then rise up early the next morning [penance], going to church at an early hour. Then prepare the abode into which the Saviour must enter [prayer]. O that it be neat, clean, and without stain! Think if there has remained any dirt or cobweb or other soiled thing. Search and sweep well.⁸⁴

If there is a sacrament throughout the course of the centuries that has been sacrilegiously abused by men and nations, it certainly is Matrimony. In the pulpit St. Bernardine brings forth this teaching with hesitancy for fear of teaching malice and offending pious ears.

What would you do, Father Bernardine? [he addresses himself]. If through fear of the stings of scoundrels [malicious youth], or through shame, or other reasons you were to pass it over in silence, you would be damned. You are bound to preach and to reproach people for their vices and sins, and to lead them to the way of salvation. Yours is the burden. Out with it, and let him speak who will!⁸⁵

Whosoever would carefully consider the Sacrament of holy Matrimony and its dignity, would show it more honor and reverence than he does now.

77. Conc. Trid., Sess. XIII, Cap. 2 (Denzinger-Bannwart, *op. cit.*).

78. *Ibid.*, Cap. 1.

79. "Predica 14," Florence, 1425.

80. "Predica 45," Siena, 1425.

81. *Ibid.*

82. John 6:55. "Predica 45," Siena, 1425.

83. "Predica 45," Siena, 1425.

84. *Ibid.*

85. "Predica 24," Siena, 1425.

Listen! First, who instituted it? The Lord God (*Messer Domenedio*). The dignity: Where did He institute it? In the most beautiful place on earth, in the terrestrial paradise, in the garden of God.

When did He institute it? At the time of innocence. Since no other sacrament was instituted at that time, He gives you to understand that, as an innocent and worthy thing, you should guard and honor it thus.

And its scope? That it might refill the seats of paradise to the confusion of the enemy of God, namely, the devil, who fell from there through pride.⁸⁶

Parents in procreating children are instruments of God. They extend over the centuries the creative act by which humanity began. Thus children are obliged to love their parents, since they have their existence, which is the foundation of all other benefits, from them. "But first [you must love] God, and then father and mother as the instruments of the work of God; because without your mother or father, God would not have infused a soul into your little body enclosed in the womb of your mother."⁸⁷

Indirectly he condemns birth control, showing the treasure of a numerous progeny:

And we do not consider [this]: the best fruit existing is that produced by woman, her child. . . . God says, "By their fruits you will know them."⁸⁸ There is no more beautiful fruit than a soul made by God. . . . If you treasure a fruit that grows in your garden, how much more should you appreciate woman, who brings forth the best fruit? A child is worth more than the whole wide world!⁸⁹

Besides the essential primary end of Matrimony, St. Bernardine enumerates the essential secondary ends: mutual aid in pursuing family interests, in the education of children, in cultivating mutual love.

For what was the woman created? For the sake of man and for his consolation. To give us to understand that the woman must be of assistance to her husband, and the husband to her, that which one wants, the other also wants, both living in the fear of the Lord.⁹⁰

The entire care of the children belongs to the mother. And should you become sick, she will care for you with faith, love, and charity toward both body and soul.⁹¹

And if her husband has not faith, she will comfort and conduct him to the faith and to good morals. . . . And thus also in regard to the children: she will instruct them in the faith of God and in His honor, love, and fear, and in the love and fear of their father and herself.⁹²

The woman must be the companion of the man, neither the slave nor the mistress.

When God made man, to give him company He cast him into a slumber, taking from his breast a bone, from which He created Eve. . . . Note well that God did not make woman from a bone in man's foot, lest he place her in subjection under his heel. Nor did He create her from a bone in the head of man, lest she subject man. He made her from a bone in the breast, which is near the heart, in the middle section of man's body, to show that he should bear her love, as a companion.

86. "Predica 25," Siena, 1425.

87. "Predica 12," Florence, 1424.

88. Matt. 7:16.

89. "Predica 12," Florence, 1424.

90. "Predica 25," Florence, 1424.

91. *Ibid.*

92. *Ibid.*

Listen to what Adam said when he rose from sleep and saw Eve: "Thou art bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh."⁹³ Two in one flesh, in one love, in one will.⁹⁴

DE NOVISSIMIS

The life of grace that God infuses into the soul of the Christian through the Sacraments finds its termination in glory (life eternal), which the Remunerator will give to the just in proportion to their good works and merits. If the eschatological realities, which according to the economy of Divine Providence befall every man at the end of his life, have so much efficacy in preventing sin and stimulating virtue, they acquired more force from the lips of St. Bernardine who brought them to life in all their dramatic fearfulness by his shrill voice, his noble and majestic gestures, his ascetic face, his vivacious and penetrating eyes, and his vehement and piercing words.

Death for St. Bernardine is the "lack of light"; "the entry into the other life." Its qualities are universality, uncertainty, and suddenness. Death is the "winking of an eye." Immediately after death, the soul finds itself in the presence of God for the Particular Judgment, in which it receives its eternal and final lot. At the end of the world, immediately after the resurrection of the dead, the Universal Judgment will take place, in which all men will present themselves before the tribunal of Christ to receive the final sentence.

Ah, poor wretch, listen to the reasoning of your soul! For the soul will live forever, while the body is as the winking of an eye. Because every day is the Judgment Day for him who dies. Remember, that if you have not done the will of God through love, you will do it by force in the life to come. You have in St. Matthew: *Cum venerit Filius hominis in majestate sua*, etc.⁹⁵ to give you a picture of the judgment of the soul. God shall judge and be witness. . . . And here, before such a Judge, there will be the good and bad, the Saints and the damned. And the sinner shall be damned. *Et congregabuntur ante eum omnes gentes.*⁹⁶

St. Bernardine calls hell by names which in the original Italian are expressions of great vividness and significance. He calls it "cursed house,"⁹⁷ "hot house,"⁹⁸ "home of the devil."⁹⁹ To end in hell is "to go to a bad lot,"¹⁰⁰ "to lose the other world in addition to this one."¹⁰¹ The road to hell is sin, and particularly a bad habit. "The devil will bear us away for bad habits."¹⁰² "The way to hell is called habit."¹⁰³ The pains of hell are eternal. "What is the garment," he asks, "that we acquire through evil habits? Eternal damnation."¹⁰⁴ Not to care for one's parents "leads to hell in a life eternally damned."¹⁰⁵

93. Cf. Gen. 2:23.

94. "Predica 25," Florence, 1424.

95. Matt. 25:31 ff.

96. "Predica 26," Florence, 1424.

97. "Predica 25," Florence, 1424.

98. "Predica 27," Florence, 1424.

99. "Predica 41," Florence, 1424.

100. "Predica 27," Florence, 1424.

101. "Predica 28," Florence, 1424.

102. "Predica 27," Florence, 1424.

103. *Ibid.*

104. *Ibid.*

105. "Predica 12," Florence, 1424.

St. Bernardine often speaks of the poor souls in purgatory, and urges the people to pray for them, for the poor souls can profit from the suffrages of the faithful. "And the good widow should see to it that she and her children pray on their knees before the crucifix, or recommend to Him the soul of her husband, praying for him."¹⁰⁶ The pardoning of him who has wronged you, he tells his hearers, "will keep you from the pains of hell and lessen your purgatory."¹⁰⁷

To designate paradise, Bernardine uses the Gospel expression, "life eternal." Eternal life, he says, is the possession of God through knowledge and love (essential bliss). "What is eternal life? It is the realm of heaven." St. Augustine says [that eternal life is] that we know Thee, O living and true God! And knowing Him, we love Him, and loving Him, we possess Him."¹⁰⁸ In the glorified soul there will remain all the knowledge acquired in this life, "because, once the soul has left the body of a great philosopher the body has naught of his knowledge, but it is in the soul. That, therefore, which he knew here on earth, he will know there, if through sin he does not lose it."¹⁰⁹

The condition for attaining paradise is persevering obedience to the divine precepts. "And to him, who does the will of God, there is promised and given eternal life, if he perseveres to the end."¹¹⁰

CONCLUSION

Thus with the consideration of his teaching on the four last things of man, we have completed our survey of the dogmatic teaching in St. Bernardine's popular sermons. We have seen with admiration his profound and orthodox theological culture. In many places we seem to be reading the Catholic doctrine exposed in the decrees and canons of the Council of Trent, such is his precision and competence. May Siena's great theologian obtain for us from Him, Who is the Way, the Truth, and the Life, the grace that, we, surrounded by so many intellectual aberrations, may never detach ourselves from thinking with the Church, for she is the *columna et firmamentum veritatis*.¹¹¹ May we ever firmly keep, preach and practise her doctrine.

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DISCUSSION

FR. CUTHBERT GUMBINGER, O. F. M. Cap.:—Although some people look askance at the *Prediche Volgari* of St. Bernardine, because they think that we have not the exact words of the Saint but merely the words of more or less faithful stenographers, the vast amount of material gathered in them is remarkable for its internal consistency. We see in all these *Prediche Volgari* the same principal ideas, the same style of quoting Scripture, and the same insistence on the dogmas of our holy faith. The course delivered at Siena in 1427 is especially well preserved by the humble fuller, Benedetto di Messer Bartolomeo. Critics, however, tell us that the Florence course of 1424 is almost as well preserved. It has been edited by Fr. Ciro Cannarozzi, O. F. M. (Pacinotti, Pistoia, 2 vols., 1934). The masterful and painstaking research of Fr. Romuald Franzesi, O. F. M. Cap., in the present paper should be an inspiration to all of us to delve deeper into Bernardine's works and bring out their treasures. This is the type of work that will help most to enhance the glory of Bernardine and to hasten the conferring upon him of the title "Doctor of the Church." There is of course more dogma in his Latin sermons. It will be a greater task for our experts to search and catalogue the dogmatic teachings of Bernardine. The order can only become the richer for such work of research. Not only will such study redound to Bernardine's glory, but it will encourage the students, teachers, and preachers of the order to a more thorough investigation and presentation of Bernardine's doctrines.

At times Bernardine does not give in his *Prediche Volgari* the full dogmatic teaching of his Latin sermons. Reasons of prudence prompted this reserve. The Latin sermons are for his brethren and for other priests; at the same time they served Bernardine as the font of living water for his popular sermons. Suffice it to say that there is no contradiction between his Latin and Italian sermons. In the Latin sermons he stresses dogma, and in the Italian he insists on morals.

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ITEMS OF INTEREST

According to the *New York Times*, June 18, 1944, a special commemorative stamp was to be issued by the Eire Government on June 30, 1944, in honor of the Tercentenary of the Death of Brother Michael O'Clery, O. F. M., the chief of the Four Masters.

The tercentenary observance in memory of this renowned annalist was celebrated throughout Ireland this year, and reached a climax when Church and State joined in elaborate ceremonies. One of the highlights of the celebration was a public meeting at which Most Rev. Paschal Robinson, O. F. M., was guest of honor, and Premier Eamon DeValera presided. A message from

Our Holy Father expressed the pleasure of the Pope over the honor given to Brother Michael.

According to the August, 1944, issue of the *Franciscan Herald and Forum*, the *Opera* of Blessed John Duns Scotus are being printed by the Vatican Press. The set will consist of some 25 volumes, and will appear in two editions: the larger with critical notes, etc., and a smaller text edition of convenient size.

According to the July 4, 1944, issue of *Ideales Franciscanos*, the Second Congress of Franciscan Tertiaries of the Province of Jalisco, will be held at Guadalajara, January 15-20, 1945.

According to the July, 1944, issue of *The Jurist*, the Rev. Juan Niccolai, O. F. M., was named Titular Bishop of Rando, and Coadjutor with right of succession to the Most Rev. Raymundo Font, Bishop of Tarija, Bolivia.

The same issue carries a note to the effect that Canon Luis Polo, O. F. M. was appointed Bishop of Sugeunza.

According to the same number of *The Jurist*, two dissertations by Franciscans have been accepted, although not yet published, by the Catholic University of America:

Kowalski, Romuald Eugene, O. F. M., *Sustenance of Religious Houses of Regulars*.

McCoy, Alan Edward, O. F. M., *Force and Fear in Relation to Delictual Imputability and Penal Responsibility*.

The latest issue of *Progress in Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, XVIII (1944), 109-120, lists the following dissertations as being in progress:

Blum, Owen J., O. F. M., *Peter Damien and the Spiritual Life* (Catholic University).

Brady, Ignatius, O. F. M., *Saint Bonaventure's Concept of Wisdom* (Pontifical Institute, Toronto).

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IRENAEUS HERSCHER, O. F. M.

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MEETING OF

THE FRANCISCAN EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE

On Monday, June 26, 1944, in the idyllic surroundings of Burlington, Wis., over eighty delegates assembled at St. Francis Monastery to open the Twenty-sixth Annual Meeting of the Franciscan Educational Conference.

The following friars were present: Very Rev. Thomas Plassmann, O. F. M., Very Rev. Isidore Cwiklinski, O. F. M., Very Rev. Ferdinand Pawlowski, O. F. M., Rev. William Lavallée, O. F. M., Rev. Patrick Robert, O. F. M., Rev. Sebastian McKenna, O. F. M., Rev. Philotheus Boehner, O. F. M., Rev. Conrad Suda, O. F. M., Rev. Seraphin Kopanski, O. F. M., Rev. Norbert Staszak, O. F. M., Rev. Adalbert Callahan, O. F. M., Rev. Irenaeus Herscher, O. F. M., Rev. Kevin Smyth, O. F. M. Cap., Rev. Dominic Turajski, O. F. M., Rev. Bernardine Rypinski, O. F. M., Rev. Cherubin Drag, O. F. M., Rev. Dismas Treder, O. F. M., Rev. Donald Bilinski, O. F. M., Very Rev. Cyril Piontek, O. F. M., Rev. Hyacinth Workman, O. F. M., Rev. Leonard Bacigalupo, O. F. M., Rev. Edward Salerno, O. F. M., Rev. Anselm Chiasson, O. F. M. Cap., Rev. Bernardine Mazzarella, O. F. M., Rev. Arnold Rzatkiwicz, O. F. M., Rev. Roger Imperiale, O. F. M., Rev. Jordan Telles, O. F. M., Rev. Dominic Unger, O. F. M. Cap., Rev. Raphael Januszewski, O. F. M., Rev. Leo Adasiewicz, O. F. M., Rev. Juniper Lewandowski, O. F. M., Rev. Martin Kropidlowski, O. F. M., Rev. Vincent Hebel, O. F. M., Rev. Robert Schmidt, O. F. M., Rev. Cuthbert Gumbinger, O. F. M. Cap., Rev. Mark Kennedy, O. F. M., Rev. Cyril Langheim, O. F. M. Cap., Rev. Robert Bayer, O. F. M. Conv., Rev. Basil Heiser, O. F. M. Conv., Rev. Terence Wholihan, O. F. M. Conv., Rev. Paschal Wodek, O. F. M., Rev. Norman Maras, O. F. M., Rev. Thomas Adamiak, O. F. M., Rev. Theodore Zaremba, O. F. M., Rev. Canisius Jamula, O. F. M., Rev. Fabian Czajkowski, O. F. M., Rev. Marion A. Habig, O. F. M., Rev. Theodore Roemer, O. F. M. Cap., Rev. Matthew Baran, O. F. M. Conv., Rev. Thomas Grassmann, O. F. M. Conv., Rev. Matthias Biedrzycki, O. F. M. Conv., Rev.

Norbert Oldegeering, O. F. M., Rev. Theophane Kalinowski, O. F. M., Rev. Stanislaus Pawlowski, O. F. M., Rev. Matthew Bochnowski, O. F. M., Rev. Henry Naparla, O. F. M., Rev. Benjamin Cywinski, O. F. M., Rev. George Dubowski, O. F. M., Rev. Alexander Bednarczyk, O. F. M., Rev. Luke Pedtke, O. F. M., Rev. Victor Krzywonos, O. F. M., Rev. Bonaventure Bolda, O. F. M., Rev. Maximilian Gartner, O. F. M., Rev. Gervase Brinkman, O. F. M., Rev. Christopher Rehwinkel, O. F. M., Rev. Pancratius Freudingier, O. F. M., Rev. Maurice Grajewski, O. F. M., Rev. Richard Plucinski, O. F. M., Rev. Aloysius Staskiewicz, O. F. M., Rev. Charles Augustyniak, O. F. M., Rev. Gregory Rokosz, O. F. M., Rev. Edward Jagodzinski, O. F. M., Rev. Pius Antoskiewicz, O. F. M., Rev. Pancratius Mizera, O. F. M., Rev. Methodius Dobrzelewski, O. F. M., Rev. Emmet Rothan, O. F. M., Rev. Leonard Puech, O. F. M., Rev. Bennet Rothan, O. F. M., Rev. Clementien Piette, O. F. M., Rev. Charles Tallarico, O. F. M., Rev. Godfrey McSweeney, O. F. M., Rev. Sebastian Miklas, O. F. M. Cap.

In commemoration of the Fifth Centenary of the death of St. Bernardine of Siena, the delegates devoted the entire meeting to a thorough study of the life and activities of the famous Franciscan Saint of the Fifteenth Century. The general topic *St. Bernardine of Siena* was adequately treated in the following papers read at various sessions: "St. Bernardine and His Times," by Very Rev. Raphael M. Huber, O. F. M. Conv.; "Dogmatic Theology in the Vernacular Sermons of St. Bernardine," by Rev. Romuald Franzesi, O. F. M. Cap.; "The Fall of the Angels and the Incarnation according to St. Bernardine," by Rev. Leonard Puech, O. F. M.; "St. Bernardine and the Holy Name," by Rev. Hyacinth Workman, O. F. M.; "The Apostolic Labors of St. Bernardine in Reviving and Purifying Christian Faith," by Rev. Charles Tallarico, O. F. M.; "St. Bernardine, the Moral Teacher," by Rev. Anscar Parsons, O. F. M. Cap.; "St. Bernardine, a Model Preacher," by Rev. Bernardine Mazzarella, O. F. M.; "St. Bernardine's Preaching Technique," by Rev. William Lavallée, O. F. M.; "St. Bernardine, a Champion of Genuine Humanism," by Rev. Cyril Piontek, O. F. M.; "St. Bernardine's Case for the Doctorate," by Rev. Cuthbert Gumbinger, O. F. M. Cap. Fr. Gumbinger also presented a brief review of St. Bernardine's ascetico-mystical doctrine, his exegesis and Marian doctrine.

As a result of the engaging and enlightening discussions from the floor, the following suggestions were offered to the friars for consideration and action: 1) that a comparative study of the Latin and vernacular sermons of St. Bernardine be made; 2) that St. Bernardine's sermons be translated into English; 3) that an inventory of all of St. Bernardine's works available in this country be drawn up. This last recommendation was later embodied in the resolutions of the meeting.

For the duration of the annual meeting Rev. Thomas Grassmann, O. F. M. Conv. (chairman), Rev. Maurice Grajewski, O. F. M., and Rev. Kevin Smyth, O. F. M. Cap., served as members of the Publicity Committee. The Committee on Resolutions consisted of the following friars: Rev. Cuthbert Gumbinger, O. F. M. Cap., (chairman), Rev. Leonard Puech, O. F. M., Rev. Bernardine Mazzarella, O. F. M., Rev. Terence Wholihan, O. F. M. Conv., Rev. Matthew Baran, O. F. M. Conv., Rev. Dominic Unger, O. F. M. Cap., and Rev. Gervase Brinkman, O. F. M. The Resolutions read to the delegates

by the Chairman, Fr. Gumbinger, were unanimously accepted and approved by the assembly.

The President, Fr. Thomas Plassmann, O. F. M., submitted a brief report concerning the quarterly review, FRANCISCAN STUDIES. A plea for a greater number of writers and book-reviewers was made to the delegates. The report revealed that the quarterly has gained new subscribers, but that the circulation is not large enough yet to put it on a paying basis. Ways and means of acquiring new subscriptions were discussed. The President paid a tribute of thanks to the editor, Fr. Marion Habig, O. F. M., for his fine effort during the past year.

The plans of the Franciscan Institute held at St. Bonaventure's College were unfolded and explained to the assembled friars. The Institute is an outgrowth of the Franciscan Educational Conference, with which it is in close collaboration. Many active members of the Conference are on the teaching staff of the Institute, the professors having been drawn from the three branches of the Franciscan family. This past summer saw a record group of over a hundred students enrolled in this new project. With its emphasis on Spirituality, History, Missiology, Theology, Philosophy and Social Studies taught from a Franciscan viewpoint, it is a distinct contribution to the Franciscan apostolate. The success of the past summer promises well for the future of the Institute. The members of the Conference were asked to pledge their hearty support to this new Franciscan undertaking which they have inspired.

At the final meeting the election of officers took place with the following result:

President, Fr. Thomas Plassmann, O. F. M., Allegany, N. Y.

Vice-President, Fr. Basil Heiser, O. F. M. Conv., Carey, Ohio.

Secretary, Fr. Sebastian Miklas, O. F. M. Cap., Washington, D. C.

Editor, FRANCISCAN STUDIES, Fr. Marion Habig, O. F. M., New York, N. Y.

Immediately after the election of officers the delegates spent some time suggesting and appraising various topics suitable for the 1945 Conference. The subjects which received prominent consideration were: 1) Library Science (stressing reading control and preparation of bibliographies); 2) Peace Program (featuring post-war planning); 3) Franciscan Missiology (dedicated to St. Fidelis Sigmaringen, the patron of the Propagation of the Faith).

With the announcement that Rev. Maurice Grajewski, O. F. M., would replace Rev. Ferdinand Pawlowski, O. F. M., (Assumption Province) as a member of the Executive Board, the 1944 meeting came to a close on June 28. The success of this year's deliberations was due in no small part to the spirited cooperation and generosity of the friars of the Assumption Province who proved themselves magnificent hosts. After thanking the local friars for their boundless hospitality, and praising the delegates for their enthusiasm, the President concluded the meeting by intoning the *Te Deum*.

SEBASTIAN MIKLAS, O. F. M. CAP.

*Capuchin College,
Washington, D. C.*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

The Committee on Resolutions of the Twenty-Sixth Annual Meeting of the Franciscan Educational Conference respectfully submits the following resolutions:

1. To His Holiness, Pope Pius XII, who despite the anxieties of war and the stress among nations, has issued a special Letter to commemorate the Fifth Centenary of the death of St. Bernardine, and who has repeatedly shown his paternal interest in the welfare of this Conference and of the Franciscan order, the Conference pledges its deepest reverence, filial loyalty, and sincere gratitude. At the same time the Conference gladly takes this occasion of voicing, together with the entire Catholic world, its praise and appreciation of the magnificent stand the Holy Father has taken throughout the present global conflict, and it expresses a special joy over the sparing of Rome.

2. To the Most Reverend Ministers General of the three families of the First Order of St. Francis, to the Most Reverend Delegates General of each of these families in North America, to the Most Reverend Minister General of the Third Order Regular, to the Very Reverend Ministers Provincial and Commissary and the Custodes General of all the affiliated Provinces, Commissariats and Custodies of the First Order and the Third Order Regular, the Conference tenders its gratitude, reverence, and appreciation for the ever helpful encouragement and enlightened guidance of these Superiors.

3. To the Very Reverend Isidore Cwiklinski, O. F. M., Minister Provincial, to the Very Reverend Martin Kropidlowski, O. F. M., Guardian of St. Francis Monastery and College, and to all the other members of this community, Fathers, Clerics, and Brothers, the Conference is indebted for the exquisite hospitality, Franciscan charity, and fraternal generosity wherewith they have entertained the delegates of the Conference in this meeting.

4. To the Venerable Clerics of this friary the Conference tenders its congratulations and gratitude for copies of the May (1944) issue of the *Portiuncula Review*, written by the Clerics and dedicated entirely to St. Bernardine of Siena.

5. To Venerable Frater Xavier Strugalski, O. F. M., the Conference extends its admiration and congratulations on the excellent "Mass in Honor of St. Bernardine of Siena" which the Clerics rendered at the Solemn High Mass sung by the Very Reverend Thomas Plassmann, O. F. M., and attended by all the delegates on Tuesday, June 27, 1944.

6. WHEREAS the Conference has been edified by the sanctity and inspired by the fruitful apostolate of St. Bernardine of Siena, the "Prince of Preachers," therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED that the Conference recommend the work of preaching and the training of preachers in the order as the work of preeminent importance, and beg the Very Reverend Superiors to give this work and training an ever greater impetus and encouragement.

7. WHEREAS St. Bernardine is one of the most famous preachers and writers of the Franciscan order, whereas he has taught both the order and the Church in his own day and ever since, whereas he has been cited by Doctors of the Church, other saints, and various popes, and has been praised

by saints, popes and other prominent persons in the course of five centuries, therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED that the Conference, in all esteem and respect for so great a Saint, favor the movement that he be declared a Doctor of the Church according to the customary proceedings of the Holy See in such matters.

BE IT RESOLVED that to promote this laudable cause and to encourage scholarly studies in the order, the Superiors declare St. Bernardine the Patron of Humanistic Studies in the order, in consideration of the Saint's distinguished scholarship and classical attainments.

BE IT RESOLVED that, to hasten the conferring of the Doctorate on St. Bernardine, his principal doctrines be taught in our seminaries and popularized in the sermons and writings of the friars.

BE IT RESOLVED that in recognition of the fact that devotion to the Most Holy Name of Jesus was sacred to St. Francis, has ever been fostered by his order, and has been propagated and defended in an extraordinary manner by St. Bernardine, the Conference recommend that the friars often preach and write on this salutary devotion; and that in every mission they give they preach a major sermon on the Holy Name, stressing the glory of Jesus as St. Bernardine was accustomed to do. Moreover in books, decorations of churches and other buildings, and also on holy cards the friars are asked to use the sacred monogram IHS.

8. WHEREAS the Superiors have ordered Solemn Tridua and sermons in honor of St. Bernardine in this commemorative year, therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED that the Conference congratulate the Franciscan Provinces of the United States and Canada on such Tridua celebrated this year.

BE IT RESOLVED that of every sermon preached, or article or other writing published this year in honor of St. Bernardine, one copy be sent to the Friedsam Library of St. Bonaventure College, Allegany, N. Y., and another to the Franciscan Delegation in New York City. To facilitate this matter, each Province and Commissariat is asked to appoint a special committee to collect and forward such sermons and writings.

BE IT RESOLVED that a Bibliography of Bernardinian literature in our American friaries be published as soon as possible in FRANCISCAN STUDIES, and that the respective librarians of our friaries be helped in this laudable endeavor.

BE IT RESOLVED that, since it will take some time until a critical edition of St. Bernardine's Latin sermons can be published, it be recommended that a facsimile reproduction of De la Haye's edition of these sermons be published to facilitate study of the Saint's works.

9. To the Academy of American Franciscan History, founded in Washington, D. C., this year, and to this Academy's quarterly review, *The Americas*, launched this summer, the Conference extends its congratulations and pledges its moral support for success in historical research.

10. To the Very Reverend Mathias Faust, O. F. M., Delegate General, the Conference tenders its appreciation and promises its help for the Seraphic Society for Priestly Vocations, which he founded this spring, under the patronage of St. Bernardine, to foster vocations to the Seraphic Order.

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